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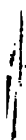


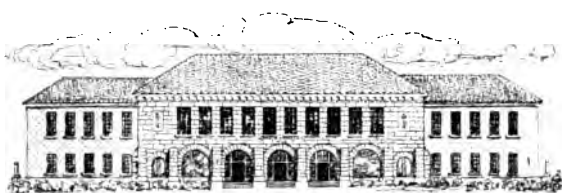
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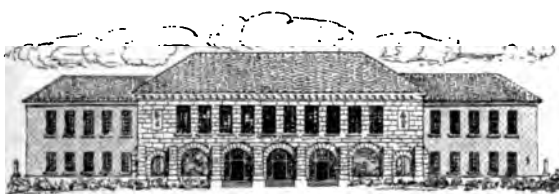
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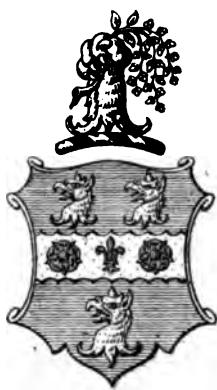


A HISTORY OF RUGBY SCHOOL

BY

W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

153-157 FIFTH AVENUE

1898



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PREFACE

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PREFACE

vii

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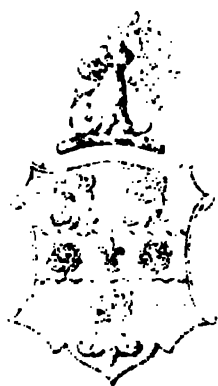
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In conclusion, I have to thank several friends for help kindly given. To Dr. James I owe it that permission was obtained to inspect the *Trustees' Books and Papers* at Rugby; and Mr. C. F. Harris has assisted me with great readiness in many ways. Mr. G. F. Bradby and Mr. Morris Davies, and especially Mr. H. T. Rhoades, have also been ready with help or candid criticism, both equally acceptable. Two present members of the School, Mr. H. C. Brentnall and Mr. K. Lucas, have kindly

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PREFACE

ix

allowed me to examine some of the school records which they have in charge.

Many of the illustrations are reproduced or drawn by Miss Helen James, from the photographs of George A. Dean, High Street, Rugby, whom I desire hereby to thank; and I owe a similar acknowledgment to E. H. Speight, Dunchurch Road, Rugby, for the photograph of a Table-top. Other illustrations come from the beautiful etchings of E. J. Burrow, published by Messrs. W. H. Beynon & Co., Cheltenham, or from old books and engravings. The sketches on pages 135 and 233 were kindly drawn for me by members of the School, C. V. Lanyon and A. A. Clarence.



RUGBY SCHOOL

I

THE FOUNDER

LAWRENCE SHERIFFE, the founder of Rugby School, like the founders of Harrow and of the Charterhouse, was a man of no exalted station in life. The very names of his parents are unknown. It is probable, however, that they belonged to the yeoman class; they were certainly held in some consideration, for at their death they were buried within the parish church of Rugby. The Sheriffes intermarried with a family named Howkins, which belonged to Rugby or the immediate neighbourhood. This family appears to have been well-to-do, and some of them died possessed of much property. So far as it goes, this is another indication that the parents of Lawrence Sheriffe were not of the humblest class. When Lawrence Sheriffe was born, and where, we have no exact knowledge. Local tradition points to an old house in Brownsover, a village two miles from Rugby, as the Founder's birthplace; which tradition in the last century was commonly believed, and in the *Trustees' Books* the same is assumed to be true.¹ Against this we must set

¹ e.g. Order of June 1, 1847.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
CHAP.	
I. THE FOUNDER	1
II. EARLY DAYS	19
III. THE FIRST TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS	47
IV. THE CASE IS SETTLED	70
V. THE CASE IS ALTERED	84
VI. LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL	101
VII. THE NEW CONSTITUTION	121
VIII. THE NEW MAN	129
IX. THE GREAT REBELLION	177
X. THE NEW SCHOOLS	192
XI. THE NEW SPIRIT	220
XII. SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY	246
XIII. AFTERMATH	275
XIV. A CHRONICLE	297
XV. SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES	312
XVI. A LAST LOOK BACKWARD	348
APPENDIX	
I. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LAURENCE SHERIFFE	353
II. DOCUMENTS IN THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT OF THE RECORD OFFICE	365
III. DOCUMENTS PRESERVED AT RUGBY	375



ILLUSTRATIONS

HIGH STREET, RUGBY, AND SCHOOL GATE,

IN 1843

BROWNSOVER PARSONAGE

THOMAS ARNOLD	"	---
RUGBY SCHOOL FROM THE CLOSE . . .		<i>page 227</i>
INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHAPEL, LOOKING		
WEST		<i>To face page 230</i>
ARNOLD'S TABLE AND CHAIR		<i>page 233</i>



ERRATA

Plate facing p. 220, for 'Richmond' read 'Thos.
Phillips, R.A.'

Plate facing p. 224, for 'Boehm' read 'Alfred
Gilbert.'

ILLUSTRATIONS

HIGH STREET, RUGBY, AND SCHOOL GATE, IN 1843	<i>Frontispiece</i>
BROWNSOVER PARSONAGE	<i>To face page 11</i>
PLAN OF THE SCHOOL PREMISES AND ADJOIN-	
ING PROPERTIES MADE ABOUT 1749	<i>page 107</i>
THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE OF RUGBY	<i>To face page 108</i>
THOMAS JAMES	<i>" 129</i>
RUGBY SCHOOL, 1809, FROM THE CLOSE	<i>page 132</i>
ENTRANCE TO RUGBY SCHOOL, 1809	<i>" 133</i>
THE "COACHING"-BLOCK	<i>" 135</i>
THE CLOISTERS	<i>To face page 158</i>
THE SCHOOL PREMISES: FROM A PLAN DRAWN	
BY T. WILSON, 1750	<i>page 197</i>
THE QUADRANGLE, 1816	<i>" 199</i>
TURRET OF THE BIRCHING SCHOOL	<i>To face page 201</i>
INTERIOR OF BIG SCHOOL, 1816	<i>page 203</i>
THOMAS ARNOLD	<i>To face page 220</i>
THOMAS ARNOLD	<i>" 224</i>
RUGBY SCHOOL FROM THE CLOSE	<i>page 227</i>
INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHAPEL, LOOKING	
WEST	<i>To face page 230</i>
ARNOLD'S TABLE AND CHAIR	<i>page 233</i>

INTERIOR OF SIXTH SCHOOL, FORMERLY THE	
LIBRARY	<i>To face page 234</i>
GATE, WITH WINDOW OF SIXTH FORM SCHOOL	<i>page 261</i>
OLD QUADRANGLE, AND ENTRANCE TO THE	
SCHOOLHOUSE HALL	„ 279
NEW QUADRANGLE	„ 303
TABLE TOP	<i>To face page 305</i>
NEW BIG SCHOOL	<i>page 307</i>
SCHOOLHOUSE, SCHOOLS, AND OLD CHAPEL .	„ 309
SCHOOLHOUSE	<i>To face page 312</i>
CHAPEL (WEST), NOW PULLED DOWN . . .	<i>page 317</i>
OLD QUADRANGLE	„ 325
SCHOOLHOUSE, SCHOOLS, AND NEW CHAPEL,	
FROM CLOSE	„ 333
THE ISLAND AND OLD PAVILION AS THEY ARE	
TO-DAY	<i>To face page 339</i>
CHAPEL INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST	<i>page 341</i>

ADDENDUM.

Page 34.—Edward Rolston is stated in the *Diocesan Registers* of London to have been born at Wemswood, Leics., and was ordained deacon in London, April 1579, aged thirty-three.



RUGBY SCHOOL

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¹ *e.g.* Order of June 1, 1847.

the evidence of a petition drawn up in 1641, in which the Founder is stated to have been born in Rugby.¹ Moreover, as we shall soon see that Lawrence Sheriffe himself bought the house at Brownsover, which previously was monastic property, it is hardly likely he was born there. Thus the only direct evidence, set down at a time when some may have been alive who had seen him, and many who had spoken of him with those that knew him well, makes for the belief that in Rugby he was indeed born. With this jumps also the choice of Rugby for his Free Grammar School; for else there was little or nothing to choose between Rugby and Clifton, Newbold or Brownsover. As regards the date of his birth, the terms of his will show that he was not an old man in 1567, but still hoped to live and himself carry out his long meditated scheme. His sister, however, was old enough to have borne a son in or about the year 1532.² Lawrence Sheriffe must accordingly have been born early in the reign of Henry VIII. As he ended his apprenticeship in 1541, the year can hardly have been later than 1518; and taking his sister's age into account, we may put it provisionally in 1515 or 1516.

Of his early days and his education, we know nothing. Even if his father was not a poor man, there must have been little schooling to be had at a village like Rugby. His energy and success in after life show that he would have profited by a good education; and surely it is not

¹ Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 34.

² Anthony Howkins. See Appendix.

fanciful to assume that it may have been an eagerness for learning, balked by circumstances, which suggested to him the founding of a school in his native place. Be this how it may, his father clearly was not ambitious for his son to rise out of his own rank in life, and contented himself with apprenticing him to William Walcott,¹ a grocer of London. In 1541, the year when Henry VIII. was acknowledged King of Ireland, Lawrence Sheriffe was admitted to the freedom of the Worshipful Company of Grocers. If he had been seven years apprentice,² we cannot go far wrong in placing his birth within the period above suggested. From this time we lose sight of him for many years. He plied his trade with success, as we shall see; but of his private life we know nothing. We may amuse ourselves by imagining him sharing in the public functions of the Grocers' Company. Once a year, in the month of May, this Mystery was wont to assemble for a feast or "mangerie," whither the wardens came "wyth garlonds on their hedes"; when the three wardens for the ensuing year were chosen.³ Or if one of the fraternity was to be buried, Sheriffe was in duty bound to attend his dirge and funeral, under pain of being fined twelvepence.⁴

Ten years after his admission to this fraternity we

¹ Records of the Grocers' Company, Feb. 2, 1541.

² This is not over the mark. Barnard Field seems to have been apprentice nine years. See Appendix.

³ Ordinances of 1376: *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers*, by J. B. Heath. Privately printed, London, 1829, p. 57.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

find Lawrence Sheriffe supplying grocery and spicery to the Princess Elizabeth, then about eighteen years of age, and residing at Hatfield.¹ The sums disbursed to him were considerable, varying from seventeen shillings to seventeen pounds. Of "spicery"—that is what are called on the Continent "Colonial wares"—Sheriffe, it would appear, was the purveyor by appointment, so that he must have used those ten years well. Shortly after came Mary's accession, and Wyatt's rebellion, which brought Elizabeth to the Tower, and would have been the undoing of her but for lack of evidence. In connection with this, we have the one glimpse of Sheriffe the man, which fortune has vouchsafed to give. This is an incident recorded in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*,² and as it is highly characteristic, I make no apology for quoting it entire:—

Although this historie following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and shew forth the malicious hearts of the Papists towards this vertuous Queene our Sovereigne Lady in the time of Queene Marie her sister, which is reported as a truth credibly told by sundrie honest persons of whome some are yet alive, and doe testify the same. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the stir of Wiat and the troubles that

¹ *Camden Miscellany*, ii. 10-13.

² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii. 951; quoted in the *History of Rugby*, 1816, and elsewhere. The first to discover it seems to have been Dr. James (Head-master 1778-94), who put the reference in the first volume of the *MS. Register*.

happened to this Queene for that cause, it fortun'd to one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London dwelling neare to Newgate Market, in a certaine morning to be at the Rose Taverne (from whence he was seldome absent), and falling to his common drinke, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his companie three other companions like to himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shiriffe Grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the sayd Taverne, and finding there the sayd Farrer (to whom of long time hee had borne good will), sate downe in the seate to drinke with him. And Farrer being in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talke at large, and namely, against the Lady Elizabeth, and said: That Jill hath been one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wiat, and before all be done, she and all the heretikes her partakers shall well understand it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with faggots before she come to it.

The foresayd Laurence Shiriffe Grocer being then servant to the Lady Elizabeth and sworn unto her Grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer in speaking so unreverently of his Mistresse, but sayd unto him: Farrer I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee; but, hearing of thee that I now hear, I defie thee, and tell thee, I am her Graces sworne servant, and shee is a princess, and the daughter of a Noble King; and it ill becometh thee to call her a Jill; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee. Doe thy worst, sayd Farrer, for that I said I will say againe; and so Shiriffe came from his company.

Shortly after the said Shiriffe, taking an honest neighbor with him, went before the Commissioners to complaine;—

the which Commissioners sate then at Boner the Bishop of Londons house beside Pauls ; and there were present Boner, then being the chiefe Commissioner, the Lord Mordant, sir John Baker, Dr. Darbishire chancellor to the Bishop, Doctor Storie, Doctor Harpsfield, and other.

The aforesayd Shiriffe comming before them, declared the manner of the said Rob. Farrers talk against the Lady Elizabeth. Boner answered, Peradventure you tooke him worse than hee meant. Yea, my lord, said Doctor Storie, if you knew the man as I doe, you would say there is not a better Catholike, nor a honester man in the City of London.

Well, sayd Shiriffe, my Lord, shee is my gracious Lady and Mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as hee is should call so honourable a Princesse by the name of a Jill : And I saw yesterday in the Court that my Lord Cardinall Poole, meeting her in the Chamber of Presence, kneeled down on his knees and kissed her hand ; and I saw also that King Philip meeting her, made her such obeysance, that his knee touched the ground ; and then me thinketh it were too much to suffer such a Varlet as this is, to call her a Jill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish her Grace to enjoy the possession of the Crowne, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance. Yea, stay there, quoth Bonner. When God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spake the words you have reported, meant nothing against the Lady Elizabeth your mistresse, and no more do we : but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear ; therefore (said Boner), good man, goe your waies home and report well of us toward your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriffe came away, and Farrer had a flap with a Foxe tail.

Such is the story ; and slight as it is, there is enough to show the courage and faithfulness of Lawrence Sheriffe. He was not afraid of championing a fallen cause, and refused to hear abuse of his mistress even from an intimate friend. More, he bearded Bonner in his den, and forced the authorities to take some notice of the offence. Bonner's tone is contemptuous enough, and probably the matter went no further ; but at any rate Sheriffe showed himself to be made of sterling stuff. It should be noted that he speaks of what he saw at court ; so Mary's accession did not materially affect his prosperity.

In the same year, 1554, Lawrence Sheriffe was elected on to the Livery of the Grocers' Company,¹ and we hear no more of him for a time. The Grocers' Company in 1556 officially recognised the Roman Catholic faith as restored by Mary. On Sunday, June 8 of that year, "my maistres the Aldermen, the Wardeyns, and the hole Liverie, assembled at their comon house, called Grocers' Hawll, and from thens they went to their church, called St. Steven's, Wallbrooke ; where they heard dirge songe ; and that being ended, they returned to their sayde Hawll, where they drank according to their olde custome ; and after, as many as were members, went to the election of their new Wardeyn." On the day following, the whole Livery came to the Hall at ten o'clock in the morning, and again went to St. Stephen's, when a sermon was preached by Mr. Christopher, "and the masse of Requiem songe by note ;" after which they returned to the Hall for

¹ See Appendix.

dinner. The Wardens were then elected, and were desired to provide "an honest preste of goode fame," to wait upon the Livery when they attended funerals, or on other occasions "where he might be needed." Their nominee was disallowed by Bonner, which probably implies that he was not considered a good Catholic; and they were forced to appoint a sound man to their rectory of St. Stephen's. This goes to show that their conversion was no more than skin deep. Whether Lawrence Sheriffe was present on these occasions we cannot say; but to judge from what we know of his leanings, he will have preferred to pay the fine.

But we can have no doubt that he was present at another ceremony three years later, when Elizabeth had restored the Protestant religion. On April 5, 1559, the Company again went in state to St. Stephen's to hear divine service, and on the next day to a "solemn sermon," after which Holy Communion was administered to the members.¹ We may believe he was one of the pageant displayed on July 12 of that year by the twelve chief City Companies.² Fourteen hundred men were sent by them to be mustered before the Queen in Greenwich Park, of whom eight hundred were pikemen in bright armour, four hundred harquebusiers in mail and helmets, and two hundred halberdiers in German rivets. They were attended by twenty-eight whiffers, richly dressed, and led by the twelve chief wardens of these companies,

¹ *Account of the Grocers' Company*, p. 62.

² *Stowe's Annals*, quoted in the *Account*, p. 64.

well mounted, and dressed in black velvet, with six ensigns in white satin, faced with black sarsnet, and rich scarfs. To this company the Grocers were required to send "190 personnes, apte and picked men; whereof 60 to be with calyvers, flasks, touche-boxes, morions, swords, and daggers; 95 to be in corselettes, with halbertes, swordes, and daggers."¹

Lawrence Sheriffe had special cause to rejoice that the Queen had come to her own. Elizabeth did not forget the man who was true to her in dark days. In 1559, the year after her accession, we find the Heralds' College granting Sheriffe a coat of arms,² the same since adopted by the School:—

Azure, on a fesse engrailed between three griffins' heads erased or, a fleur-de-lis of the first, between two roses gules. Crest: a lion's paw erased or, holding a bunch of dates, the fruit of the first in pods argent, the stalks and leaves vert.

This blazon, as has been suggested with much likelihood,³ has reference to his calling as a merchant of "spices." The griffins (which reappear on the arms granted to the Grocers' Company) hint at the perilous lands in the East, with their hidden treasures guarded by dragons; and there is no obscurity in the "bunch of dates," which symbolise his spicery. This merchant, although now an

¹ *Account*, p. 65.

² His great-nephew, John Howkins, of the Middle Temple, also used arms, but how or when obtained is not known.

³ *The Book of Rugby School*, p. 14.

Esquire, made no attempt to claim gentle birth, and clearly felt only an honest pride in his own achievements. It was, perhaps, at this period that he took up his abode in a house in Newgate Street, just within the gate, where he was living in 1564 and in the year of his death.¹ This was commonly called the King's Grocer's House, though in the years named the rent was paid to Ralph Scroope, Esq., for the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn. The house was of considerable size, for it was rented at £6. 13s. 4d. *per annum*, more than half the sum assigned later by Sheriffe as his schoolmaster's salary.

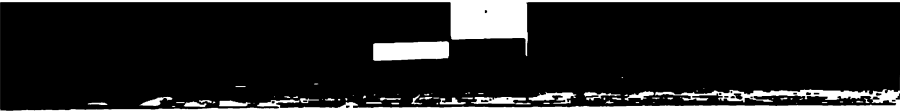
On November 18, 1560, he purchased from one Mr. Streete, that field called Conduit Close, in the county of Middlesex, which was to play so important a part in the history of the School.² It was a piece of land measuring twenty-four acres, and it cost him £320; his wife Elizabeth is mentioned as joint purchaser, so he was already married. He continued to follow his merchant's calling; and we can hardly doubt that he still was the Queen's Grocer by appointment.³ In 1562 we find him making the Queen a New Year's gift, "a suger loaf, a box of ginger, a box of nutmegs, and a pound of cynomon," then very precious, in return for which the Queen gives him "one gilt salt with a cover," weighing seven ounces.

About this time we see Lawrence Sheriffe in a new light,

¹ *Records of Lincoln's Inn*, vol. iii. pp. 348, 358. See the extracts in the Appendix.

² *Trust Papers*: No. 1, *Copy of the Indenture*.

³ I have found no mention of him, however, by a cursory examination of the Exchequer Accounts.





BROWNISOVER PARSONAGE.

(From a photograph by Geo. A. Dean, Rugby.)

To face page 11.

as a speculator in landed property. Owing to the dissolution of the monasteries, there had been a great deal of buying and selling in land, and the Crown still had some to dispose of. Accordingly, in 1561 we find Lawrence Sheriffe and Thomas Reve making application to Queen Elizabeth for purchase of eighteen or twenty properties situated in several parts of the kingdom—Staffordshire, Lincoln, Leicester, Surrey, Warwickshire, Lancashire, Notts, and Flint.¹ Among these mention is made of “tithes and hereditaments in Brownsover, late of the Monastery *de Pratis* of Leicester.”

The transfer of these lands was accomplished two years afterwards. By letters patent bearing date of March 17, 5 Elizabeth (1562/3), the Queen, in consideration of £2243. 11s. 3d., granted to Lawrence Sheriffe and Thomas Reve, amongst other things, “all her tithes of corn, grain, and hay yearly growing, renewing, and increasing within the fields of Brownsover aforesaid, . . . and also one messuage and one yard land with the appurtenances in Brownsover . . . lately belonging to the monastery of Leicester.”²

This document suggests some interesting considerations. In the will of Lawrence Sheriffe none of these lands are named, excepting this parcel in Brownsover. It

¹ Record Office: Particulars of Grants, 4 Eliz. (1561). See Appendix.

² Recited in Chancery Bills and Answers, Charles I.: R. 45/32. Bill of Anthony Howkins, Nov. 1632. The purchase is enrolled in Patent Rolls, 4 Elizabeth, Part I.: Lawrence Shryve and Thomas Reve.

seems to follow that he and his partner bought them to sell again. However, the bequest to his wife includes all and singular other his lands, tenements, and hereditaments, being freehold, set and being in the county of Middlesex or elsewhere within the realm of England. The only property named in the will, which would thus be left for his wife, is part of a meadow situated outside London, and measuring some sixteen acres. It is possible, therefore, that he died possessed of some of the lands above mentioned. But no lands are specified in Mrs. Sheriffe's own will,¹ and the matter remains obscure. Lastly comes the question, Who was this Thomas Reve?² Whatever property was bought by the pair of partners was held by them jointly; and when Thomas Reve died, the property passed into the sole possession of Lawrence Sheriffe.³ This is an extraordinary way of doing business, if it was really a business transaction. Had Thomas Reve no heirs? or was he like Melchizedek, a solitary figure without visible parents or kindred? Unless the

¹ She afterwards married a Mr. Clarke, of Bristol, and her will may be found in Somerset House under the name of Elizabeth Clarke. It is a most extraordinary will. Mrs. Clarke was possessed of a variety of cattle and chattels, feather-beds, chests, quilts, and other articles, most of which were in the hands of some one else. She generally leaves them to those in whose hands they are. She died April 29, 1579, at her house in London. See also Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 13.

² A grant of lands in Wiltshire is made to Thomas Reve and George Cotton in 1554 (S. P. Dom., Mary, Catalogue, p. 62). This is the only mention of the name I have been able to find, unless it was he who sued his own wife on personal matters under Elizabeth (Chanc. Proc. Rr. 4, 37).

³ Bill of Howkins (see above).

document quoted makes a mistake, I cannot help suspecting that Thomas Reve and Lawrence Sheriffe were in fact kinsmen; and it would not greatly surprise me if they turned out to be father and son, who would here be associated as the husband and wife were in purchase of Conduit Close. This may seem to some readers a ridiculous idea; but none will think so who know how irregular were ancient methods of transmitting names. The name Sheriffe, which is also spelt Shrefffe, Shrefe, Shreve, Shryve, and Shirreve, is of course only the compound Shire-reeve; and when this is pointed out, the connection with Reve at once becomes clear. Nicholas Greenhill, one of the masters of Rugby School, was often spoken of in Rugby as Hill;¹ but there are closer parallels than that. I have met with a case exactly similar in a will of the same period, where a father and son bear the names of Smith and Rokesmith.² I would not make too much of this suggestion; it is nothing more than a conjecture, neither supported nor contradicted by direct evidence. That a father and son might have borne these names is all I claim.

About this time Lawrence Sheriffe made another purchase which has a more direct interest for this present

¹ *e.g.*, "That he repaired the Schoolehouse 20 tymes whilst Greene and Rolph, *Hill* (who was Schoolemaster in Queene Elizabeths tyme) his Successors, were Schoolemasters."—*Trust Papers*, 138, fol. 10. 'Hill his successors' of course means 'Hill's successors.'

² It is ten years since I noted this, and the reference is lost. To look for a Smith in Somerset House would be to look for a straw in a haystack. I would have undertaken even this labour if it would have decided the point; but nothing will do this except direct proof or disproof.

history. He bought divers messuages in Rugby, opposite the parish church, and on the site easternmost of the present Almshouses. These cottages, being ancient and ruinous, he pulled down; and at great costs and expenses of money new builded on the same site a large house, which in his will he calls his Mansion House,¹ for the school which he intended to found. The document from which I take these particulars—a Chancery Bill indicted by one Anthony Howkins in 1632—goes on to say that he also built the Schoolroom and Almshouses. That Schoolroom, however, was not finished in 1567, when Sheriffe's will was drawn up, and the Almshouses were still not built in 1602; so it is probable that Howkins made a mistake here. Howkins, when he drew up the Bill, was a hundred years old; and at such an age events in the far background are apt to run together in the mind. But his statement that Lawrence Sheriffe built this Mansion House for the use of the schoolmaster may be accepted without hesitation. The received theory is that the Mansion House had belonged to Sheriffe's father, and that Lawrence Sheriffe himself was born in it. But this theory is absolutely without evidence, and is due to a conjecture which was afterwards repeated as if it were a proved fact. Even at the age of a hundred, Howkins was not likely to say that Lawrence Sheriffe built the house he was born in.² It is interesting to know that

¹ Anthony Howkins' Bill (see Appendix C). Lawrence Sheriffe seems to have lived in this house for a time (see Appendix B).

² There are, however, inaccuracies in the document, as will be seen.

the Mansion House was not a converted dwelling, but was built specially for its proper purpose. Furthermore, it now becomes easy to understand why the school premises carried with them, as they did, the rights of two cottage commons in Rugby field.¹

On August 1, 1562, Sheriffe was "sworne into the Assistance" of the Grocers' Company; and four years later he was chosen Second Warden.² At this time, as we learn from his will, he had two 'prentices, a man-servant, and four maids, two of whom were his own nieces. He had a massive gold chain, which he wore on state occasions, and rode upon a "grey ambling nagge."

In 1567 he became seriously ill, and consequently proceeded to provide that the scheme for founding a school at Rugby, begun by him in the building of the School-house, should be carried out, even if he did not live to do it. Warned by his illness, he made his will, and set forth the long-meditated scheme in a paper called the Intent of Lawrence Sheriffe. Of these we shall have occasion later to speak more at large. Of the various legacies, we need only mention one or two. Money is left for making new pews in the parish church of Rugby, which are to have the arms of the Grocers carved upon them, together with the letters L and S adjoining thereto.³ The market cross is to be repaired, and the same device carved upon it. A certain sum is left for the repair of Rugby Bridge

¹ Alluded to in *Trustees' Books*, Order of Nov. 3, 1778. See also Bloxam, *Rugby Speech Day in Former Times*, p. 5.

² See Appendix.

³ See Appendix.

and Brownsover Bridge. His 'prentices and servants are not forgotten. To the Grocers' Company he leaves £13. 6s. 8d., half of which is to be spent on providing the customary funeral feast. For himself, he desires that a funeral service may be performed in London, his body then to be carried to Rugby, and there laid in the parish church beside his father and mother; and at his burial, alms are to be distributed to the poor.

From his illness Lawrence Sheriffe must have recovered, so far at least as to make the journey to Rugby; for in Rugby we find him a few weeks later. He was still busy with the scheme for a school, and there can be no doubt that this it was which caused him to undertake a long journey in his weakness. No doubt he took a last survey of the house he had built, and made such arrangements for the future as he could make. The language of the Inquisition of 1602 seems to imply that he was interrupted in some arrangements for building both School and Almshouses by the relapse which killed him. If, then, he arranged at this time for the Schoolroom to be begun, or even began it, the centenarian's memory did not fail him after all. While at Rugby, Lawrence Sheriffe added a codicil to his will, which has made the fortune of Rugby School. A legacy of £100 had been, under the will, set apart for the future School: this legacy was now revoked, and in its stead was bequeathed one-third part of Conduit Close, making eight acres or thereabouts. The monetary value of this was little more than the original legacy, and what his reasons were for the change it is hard

to conjecture. It may have been due to the way in which his project was received; or, again, Sheriffe may have seen that income was for his purpose better than capital. This piece had originally been left in reversion to Bridget, his sister, wife of John Howkins; and it would seem from what happened later that the family were not greatly pleased at being deprived of a part of their inheritance. There may have been a family quarrel, and Lawrence may have distrusted John Howkins; at all events, he was not one of the trustees appointed to execute the intent. A sum of money is more easily frittered away than a parcel of land. Some such reasons as these are not unlikely to have weighed with Lawrence Sheriffe. Yet Howkins witnessed the codicil, so there can have been no open breach. Possibly some payment in ready money was made, which reconciled Howkins to losing his legacy of £40, receiving instead £26. 13s. 4d. and a black coat.

Immediately after executing this codicil, Lawrence Sheriffe must have returned to London; and in less than three weeks he was dead. Perhaps the journey actually cost him his life; but if so, we may feel sure he would not have regretted it had he known what a vast difference it was to make for his school. It was long thought that, according to the terms of his will, he must have been buried at Rugby; but, in 1864, Mr. Bloxam¹ discovered the entry relating to his burial, and proved that his last wish was disregarded. Perhaps we may see in this another indication that his family were not pleased with the found-

¹ *Rugby*, pp. 14, 15.

ing of Rugby School. Lawrence Sheriffe was buried at the Grey Friars' Church (Christ Church), in Newgate Street, close by the place where he had spent so much of his life. The church was burnt to the ground, all but part of the cloisters, in the great fire of 1666; but the registers fortunately escaped destruction. In the earliest volume occurs the entry—

September 1567.

The xvi. Daye was buryed Mr. Lawrence
Shyryfe.

This is the last record of a life nobly dumb, but not without deeds.



II

EARLY DAYS

EDWARD ROLSTON, M.A., about 1574-1580—RICHARD SEALE,
B.A., 1580-1581—NICHOLAS GREENHILL, 1581-1604.

ALTHOUGH, as we have seen, Lawrence Sheriffe during his lifetime had possession of a good deal of land, his will specifies three parcels of land only. The first of these was the Mansion House built by him in Rugby, together with the land round it, being altogether one rood thirty poles or thereabouts. This house was built on the site of certain ancient cottages, and carried with it the cottage rights over the common land in Rugby which those cottages originally had. Secondly, the parsonage of Brownsover, with one yard of glebe land, more or less, and the tithes. Thirdly, the field hard by Holborn, some half mile outside the city of London, commonly called Conduit Close or Conduit Mead. The first two of these were left for the use of Rugby School; and of the last, one-third part was so left, the other two-thirds being bequeathed to his family. With these two-thirds we have no present concern; and those who are curious in the matter may see from his will how they were apportioned. But it is necessary to examine the way in which the school property was tied up.

It was no great institution which the Founder had planned; and it did not occur to him to create a body of Trustees such as that which now manages the Trust.

To Lawrence Sheriffe it seemed natural to put the matter into the hands of persons whom he loved and trusted; and for this purpose he chose two "dear friends," George Harrison, of London, gentleman, and Barnard Field, of London, grocer. The third part of Conduit Close, together with all the property in Warwickshire, was "bargained and sold"¹ to them and to their heirs for ever, upon such trusts and to such purposes as were specified in the will of the Founder, and in a document styled the Intent of Lawrence Sheriffe. But however truly these men might have deserved the Founder's confidence (and I shall try to show presently that they were not wholly unworthy of it), there was a fatal mistake in not providing that these men should choose suitable successors, and guarding against the possibility of all coming into the hands of one man. Along with the lives of Harrison and Field must pass away the friendship which the Founder depended on; and it was hardly to be expected of human nature that the heirs in course of time should not regard the Trust as a burden. There would be then a strong temptation for any such to use it to their own advantage, not to the purposes for which it had been given. If the Founder had only made the body of Trustees sufficiently large to make a fraud unlikely, or only directed that his two friends

¹ Copy of indenture among *Trust Papers*, No. 1.

should choose suitable successors, when they by death or otherwise must relinquish their trust, troubles and heart-burnings infinite would have been spared. There is some indication in the terms of the Founder's will that he wished Harrison and Field to choose suitable successors; but this ought to have been made clearer.

George Harrison¹ was a gentleman by birth, and lived in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn—not far, that is to say, from Conduit Close. He was a rich man, possessing an estate in St. Giles's in the Fields, "houses, lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents, plate and jewels," besides other properties of various kinds. He and his wife Elizabeth were childless, but he had several relations of his own name. He was not only rich, and so much the less likely to be tempted by a paltry paddock, but appears to have been of a kindly and charitable disposition. If he was not, he and his wife could not have agreed very well; for a great part of her will is taken up with charitable legacies. Mrs. Harrison by her will founded a kind of almshouse on her own account, to last out the lease of her dwelling-house, which had forty-eight years to run. She provided for the shelter and clothing of thirteen "poore ould men" and thirteen "poore ould weemen." The men were to receive a frieze gown in one year, and a canvas shirt in the next; the women, smocks of canvas and other materials not familiar to the male intellect. Mrs. Harri-

¹ These details I have found out from his will in Somerset House (Book Rowe, fol. 10), and his wife's (*Windsor*, 68).

son gives the minutest directions as to price, quality, and quantity of these materials. She also bequeaths five pounds each to the "poor of Christ's Hospital, and the poor prisoners of Ludgate, Newgate, King's Bench, and Marshalsea." We may assume, then, that the husband of this charitable dame was a man of honour, and that Lawrence Sheriffe's good judgement did not fail him in this choice.

Barnard Field, the second trustee, has a greater interest for our present purpose. He had been Lawrence Sheriffe's own apprentice,¹ and, to judge from the date of his apprenticeship, 1542, was probably the first ever bound to Sheriffe. His master must have had every opportunity of testing his character during the next nine years, at the end of which time he seems to have set up business on his own account. Nor did he confine his energies to grocery and spicery; he had large dealings in merchandise of other sorts. So much we may infer from a petition which was presented to the Queen soon after the year 1567, the same year in which Lawrence Sheriffe died.² This is drawn up in the name of eight merchants, one of them being Barnard Field, who had a grievance against the King of Barbary. This potentate appears to have had a dislike, or perhaps too cordial a liking, for what was "commonly called brown-blue cloth," and in 1567 he declared that all such cloth that found its way into his

¹ Bound to him, February 1, 1542; Freeman of the Brotherhood, 1551; Livery, May 9, 1567.—*From the Books of the Worshipful Company of Grocers.* See Appendix.

² State Papers: Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. xlv. No. 63 (Record Office).

dominions he would confiscate forthwith. The company of merchants who made complaint had no notice of this declaration, and sent sundry shiploads of the cloth to Barbary; whereupon the King was as good as his word, and took possession of the whole. We find Field in a similar strait a few years later.¹ Field and a certain John Foxall owned a fine ship of 750 tons, being worth, with freight and furniture, no less than £7329. In 1575 this vessel was at Cadiz, and Philip of Spain laid an embargo upon it. The owners made several applications to the Queen, who was prevailed upon to interest herself in the matter. But Sir Henry Cobham, the English Ambassador, got nothing but vain words for his pains; and the merchants pray the Queen "for Christe his sake to loke vppon the robberye and spoile done vnto the said ffoxall and ffeild," and to seize on any Spanish ships that were handy by way of reprisal.² It can hardly be imagined that a man who could venture thousands of pounds in a single bottom would stoop to a petty fraud. This kind of reasoning, however, so often proves false that it is fortunate we are not left to conjecture, and what the Trustees in truth did will be seen shortly.

One third part of Conduit Close, then, which at that time was worth six or eight pounds a year, and the Brownsover property, were left in trust to Field and Harrison and their heirs; and they were directed

¹ State Papers : Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. cxx. No. 6.

² State Papers : Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. cvii. No. 73; March 11, 1575/6.

to build a fair and convenient school house adjoining the house which Lawrence Sheriffe had built, and four meet and distinct lodgings for four poor men. For this purpose a sum of fifty pounds was assigned under the will. The School was to be free to the boys of Rugby and Brownsover. The School built, an honest, discreet, and learned man was to be appointed to teach a free grammar-school there, and the same was, if possible, ever to be a Master of Arts. The Mansion House, as Sheriffe calls it, was granted him for his dwelling, free of all charge, and the repairs of the premises were to be paid out of the profits of the endowments. The Master was to receive as his salary twelve pounds by the year; and the almsmen were to have each his lodging, with seven pence by the week, to be weekly paid, for maintenance. These expenses could not be covered by the rent of Conduit Close; and accordingly the property in Brownsover was left to the same Trustees, and it was charged with a yearly rent charge of £16. 13s. 4d., to be paid to the uses of the Trust. Bridget, a sister of Lawrence Sheriffe, and her husband, John Howkins, were to be "farmers" or tenants of Brownsover during their lifetime, and, after their death, preference was to be given to one who should be of their body, lawfully begotten, and after to any other. Besides paying the rent of £16. 13s. 4d., the tenant was always to keep the chancel of Brownsover chapel in repair (to which he was bound as lay rector), and well and sufficiently to repair the premises. It does not appear from the will or the intent that the tenant of Brownsover was expected

to pay anything more towards repairing the school buildings ; but at first they did so, and in after years the Master claimed this as a right. The dispute about it caused much ill-feeling on both sides.

Such was the original foundation of Rugby, which the Founder desired to be called for ever the Free School and Almshouses of Lawrence Sheriffe of London, Grocer : a charitable foundation of the most complete kind, providing, as it did, for the education of the young, and the peace and quietude of those who were old and needy. The School was, in the first place, meant for the boys of Rugby and Brownsover, who were to enjoy it free of all charge ; and after them it might be made available for others on such terms as should appear convenient. The Almsmen of Lawrence Sheriffe were to be chosen from the same two villages, two from Rugby and two from Brownsover. No provision is made for an increase in the value of the property, and most likely the Founder did not conceive that it might ever increase. That he intended the rents of Conduit Close, whatever they might be, to be entirely given to the charity, seems probable ; but it is not so clear whether he intended the same of Brownsover. That property, with tithes and glebe lands, was worth more than the specified rent ; and to one not learned in the ways of the law, it looks as though this charge alone would still be exacted, had it not been for the scandalous dishonesty of the tenants in later years.

Whatever be true of later years, little fault can be found with Trustees or tenants in the time just following

on Lawrence Sheriffe's death. John and Bridget Howkins were, so far as we know, prompt and honest in paying of their rent; and although reason will be shown for believing that Howkins fell out with Field, yet this did not make him go the length of keeping the rent back. In the great lawsuit which we shall soon come to, a younger John Howkins asserts that John and Bridget enjoyed the Rectory during life "according to the special limitations,"¹ which were, as we have seen, the payment of rent charge and repair of the premises. This does not appear to have been denied by the other side, so we may take it as true. It was when John and Bridget died that the mischief began; the heirs of Field and of Howkins came very near to thwarting the good intent of the religious Founder. The Trustees granted a lease to their son Anthony and his son John (who died soon after) on the prescribed terms. The document is an indenture dated January 20, 21 Elizabeth (1578/9),² and holds good for fifty years after the death of John and Bridget Howkins, but not unless one of the two lessees lived for that time. After their death it was to be void. Exact provision was made that if the rent fell into arrears, or if repairs were not properly carried out, the Trustees or their heirs should at once resume possession.

¹ *Trust Papers* : No. 42, a loose sheet torn off one of the briefs.

² *Inquisition* : Appendix. The John mentioned in Anthony's will must have been another son, unless the *Inquisition* is wrong in speaking of this John as dead in 1602. Another John Howkins, barrister of the Middle Temple, appears in the *Papers* (No. 86, fol. 93). He was in 1654 aged about 46, and was brother of Elias.

After the death of Lawrence Sheriffe the Trustees would seem to have lost no time in beginning to carry out their trust. The buildings were not yet ready for the School, but four poor men were immediately appointed as almsmen, two being of Rugby and two of Brownsover. These were placed for the time being in the Mansion House. No fault can be found with the arrangement, since there was as yet no schoolmaster to inhabit in it. There is nothing to show that the Trustees meant to ignore Lawrence Sheriffe's directions, or to leave the almsmen permanently in that place. The next thing was to build a big School, and this appears to have been needlessly delayed. It was not until seven years after the Founder's death that the School was ready. Meanwhile the rents of Brownsover had been paid to the Trustees by John and Bridget Howkins, so that there was available from the Trust Moneys the sum of £116. 13s. 4d. If we deduct £42. 9s. 4d. for the almsmen, a balance is left of £71. 4s., besides the £50 allotted for building by the Founder. At the Inquisition of 1602 it was declared that £17 of the Brownsover rent was not used in the building, nor was the said sum of £50 so used. This statement implies that the remainder was spent on building the School; and as no accusation is made with regard to the rent of Conduit Close, we may fairly assume that this also was so applied. This leaves a residue of £54. 4s., without the £50, or the rent from Conduit Close. This sum (if not more), which was then worth about ten times its present value, was

the sum spent on the first big School of Rugby. We can hardly hope to clear up the matter now, but it should be borne in mind that these statements come from the opponents. It is therefore quite possible that the Schoolroom had more spent on it than this minimum. However that may be, it was well and substantially built, and for nearly two centuries survived the destructive influences of time, poverty, and schoolboys.

Although George Harrison was still alive, he seems to have had little influence in the affairs of the School, which he left entirely in the hands of Barnard Field. The duties of the Trustees were to receive the rents of Brownsover, to appoint the Master and almsmen, and to make all necessary payments; but it is Field who is always spoken of as doing whatever had to be done, so I presume Harrison was content to let matters slide.

The School now being complete, Field proceeded to appoint a Master. No exact date is given for this first appointment, but it is reasonable to assume that it was made soon after the buildings were ready, that is to say, in or about the year 1574.¹

It may be worth while to pause here a moment, and try to imagine what Rugby was like in the sixteenth century. There has been a hamlet on the site from time immemorial, and a number of British barrows or beacons in the neighbourhood show that it had some importance

¹ There seems to be a mistake in the Inquisition: if Harrison be the man here supposed, he was alive when Rolleston was appointed.

long before the Conquest. One of these barrows is close by the fork of the Bilton and Lawford Roads; and another, in the School Close, is known as the Island. The town is described in Domesday Book under the name of Rocheburie, and it was known as Rokeby or Rookby¹ down to the period of which we now write. There used to be a small Norman castle here, built probably in the reign of Stephen, of which traces are said still to remain. But if that town be happy which has no history, happy indeed must Rugby have been during many centuries. Although it was in the near neighbourhood of ancient monastic houses, of great castles, and of a great religious centre like Coventry, yet nothing seems ever to have happened at Rugby until Lawrence Sheriffe founded his School there. But if any trust is to be put in legend, this quiet past will one day be amply atoned for by one crowded hour of glorious life. Close by a great battle is to be fought, in which three kings will take part, while their horses are held by a miller having two thumbs on one hand. Whether Lawrence Sheriffe had heard of this Armageddon, we know not; at all events, in his day Rugby was still but a small village, much of a size with Brownsover. In 1663, when the hearth money was imposed on householders, a hundred and sixty houses were taxed in Rugby; ² in 1642 there were "nine score families" in Rugby, Brownsover being perhaps included; ³ in 1629,

¹ Rookby and Rugby hardly differed in the pronunciation of the time.

² *History of Rugby*, p. 77.

³ See petition of the inhabitants in Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 35.

half a century after the Founder's death, twenty burials are entered in the parish register.¹ We may thus put down Rugby as containing about one hundred houses in the sixteenth century.

The town gathered about a central market-place, from which spread four streets. One of these led eastwards past the parish church, opposite to which, on the other side of the road, stood the Mansion House of Lawrence Sheriffe; a second led towards Newbold; the two others were the present High Street and Sheep Street. These last ran into the Hillmorton Road, and enclosed a triangle, which was probably then, as now, full of houses. At the end of the High Street was a grange of the monks of Pipewell, and perhaps on the site of the present Schoolhouse stood a predecessor of that house, which was afterwards bought for the School. Both these were built on an enclosure of part of Rugby Field, the village common. The market-place was an important centre, not for the town only, but for the whole neighbourhood. Here were held a number of fairs every year, when the drovers and breeders brought in horse and beast for sale. A cross stood in the centre, and not far away were the stocks and the pillory, probably surrounded by paving. Here, too, in all likelihood, was the cage for exposing malefactors, painted in "Oyle and Colours."² A horse-pond occupied the site of the present elementary school, near the church; and in it or near it was a post

¹ *History of Rugby*, p. 76.

² So it was at a later date (*History of Rugby*, p. 56).

to which the cucking-stool was attached.¹ To be ducked in the stool was the punishment for shrewish wives; and the boys of the grammar school must often have been amused by this spectacle. Rugby had also its butts for shooting with the longbow, as ordained by statute of Henry VIII. These existed for at least two centuries after the Founder's day; for in 1742 the town was fined for a deficiency in some part of them.² Excepting the school buildings, and one or two dwellings on the Hillmorton Road, there were probably no houses of any size in Rugby. The great majority were thatched cottages, lining the four roads or streets just mentioned. Many such still lend a picturesque aspect to the town, and it is quite likely that some of these are as old as the sixteenth century.

The Mansion House³ in which the schoolmaster dwelt

¹ All these have long since disappeared, but an old cucking-stool may still be seen at Warwick, and stocks at Dunchurch, Thurlaston, and Lawford. The last person ducked at Rugby was a man who beat his wife. The Rugby stocks were last used about 1865, and the victim still lives, and is proud of his record.

² *History of Rugby*, p. 55.

³ Most of the details which follow have been made out from a laborious study of two bundles of papers, after reading which I feel as if I could find my way about the Mansion House blindfold. They are docketed "Vouchers, 1716 to 1747, and 1746 to 1766." These contain the original bills for repairs done during the years specified, with a few of older date (before 1667): it is generally impossible to give a more exact reference. I assume that no additions were made to the house after Greenhill's mastership. None were made later than 1667, when the regular accounts begin, except such as will be mentioned in their place; and if any were made between 1604 and 1667, I should much like to know where the money came from. The reader will soon be able to judge whether a master of Rugby School could indulge in "lust of housing."

was a brick-and-timber tenement, of the kind familiar to us in many an ancient farmstead or manor-house of that age. It was of two storeys, one overhanging the other; the roof was thatched, and presented a view of large gables and overhanging eaves; a lofty stack of chimneys rose in the centre; the windows were built with stanchions and mullions, and were glazed in small leaded panes or "quarreys." In front was a porch supported by pillars. The house stood in its own ground, somewhat retired from the street, and along the street ran a fence of palings with double gates. On the east side were the four sets of almsmen's rooms, each having a separate door opening outwards. The front door opened upon a hall, which was floored in oak and had an oak wainscot; massive oak beams were visible above it. On the ground floor, opening out of the hall, were a "great parlour" and a "small parlour," and probably the Master's study; two kitchens, a laundry, and a scullery, with various rooms or cupboards for coals and stores, complete this part of the house. Two cellars were dug beneath it. On the upper floor there were a number of rooms, six at least, and possibly nine. There were several out-houses about it; we find mention of two barns,¹ a brew-house,² and stables. A well supplied the establishment with water, and a small garden was barred off by a thatched wall of mud.

Behind this messuage was the School, described by one who was taught in it as "a long, rather lofty room, built

¹ *Trustees' Books.*

² *Plan, p. 107, below.*

with timber";¹ that is to say, transverse beams with brick or lath and plaster between. It would be needless to say that the building was not a wooden shanty, but that the expression has been by some misunderstood. The tons of lime used in after years to repair the walls must settle the question for those who doubt. That the beams were massive and strong, is clear, for they held out untouched to the last. This room, called the School (or, after the founding of Elborow's, the Latin School), was not built separate from the Schoolhouse, but as part of it. Like the house, it had at this period a thatched roof. Two doors gave access to it—one opening outwards, and called the "School End" or "Outward Door"; the other opening inwards, and called the "House End." The School End faced towards the north, and was approached by steps. It was closed by a massive oak door having a lock and a latch. In front of it, or to the side, was a yard which the boys used. There were several windows in this long room, glazed, like those of the house, in small leaded quarreys. In summer these were made beautiful by wooden boxes full of flowers. Somewhere in the building, or adjoining it, was a small study. The School was floored with wood, oak or elm; and it contained a large desk for the Master, two or more chairs, and benches for the boys. There were also tables with drawers in them. The roof was probably open, as no ceiling is ever mentioned, and above were a number of massive oak beams.

Such in the main were the buildings of the first Rugby

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1809.

School, when the builder had done with them ; and such they remained for nearly two hundred years. Except for the spacious Schoolhouse, the buildings differed but little from those of many another country grammar school. The appearance of the Big School may be realised by those who have seen the Grammar School at Stratford-on-Avon, which is built in just the same style as Lawrence Sheriffe's, but on a larger scale. And here, in or about the year 1574, the first Master of Rugby School began his duties.

The first Master of Rugby School was Edward Rolston,¹ of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had taken his Bachelor's degree in the year of the Founder's death, and proceeded M.A. in 1572. The Mansion House was given him for his abode, but not the whole of it. The four almsmen, it will be remembered, had their rooms in the Mansion House, and no meet and distinct lodgings had been built for them. This arrangement was clearly most awkward, especially if there should happen to be boys boarding in the house. Something was done, however, to smooth matters. The doors of the almsmen's rooms, which opened inwards, were blocked up, and new doors opened upon the air on the east side of the Mansion House. Partitions were put up within them, and a separate chimney was built for each set. By this arrangement each of the four poor men had a pair of rooms to

¹ Spelt also Roleston and Rolleston (I adopt the spelling of the Registers at Cambridge): B.A., 1567/8; M.A., 1572. Two other Rolstons occur in the Christ's College Register, who are probably akin to him: William, B.A., 1598/9; and Richard, B.A., 1604/5. Edward Rolston was born at Wemswood, Leics., and ordained deacon in London, Apr. 1579, aged 33.—*London Diocesan Registry*.

himself, one over the other. Thus, like a happy family, the recipients of the Trust lived together under one roof quietly and without interruption for many years.

Of Edward Rolston as Master I have been able to find out nothing, good or bad. He held the post for six years or so, and then he disappeared, whether by death or resignation I know not. The next Master was one Richard Seale,¹ of Trinity College, Oxford, a Warwickshire man, and then some five-and-twenty years old. He was appointed by Barnard Field about the year 1580, but his tenure came to an abrupt end in a most unpleasant manner. In a word, he was summarily ejected from his post, and another man placed in his stead. What reasons there may have been for this we shall presently consider; but first let us express our gratitude to that fickle jade Fortune, who has preserved to us a document describing the event. This is a petition now in the Record Office,² presented by some inhabitants of Rugby before the Queen's most honourable Privy Council, against one Edward Boughton, of Cawston, in the county of Warwick, Esquire. This personage, who was a man of much influence in the county, was a friend of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and by his aid a few years later³ was enabled

¹ Richard Seale, co. Warwick, Trinity College, matriculated Nov. 11, 1574, aged 19, "serviens Mri. Sanforde"; B.A., March 5, 1577/8 (*Alumni Oxonienses*). There is a will of a Richard Seele in Somerset House, who died in 1590 (Book *Sainberbe*, fol. 14). He describes himself as a husbandman, and has a son Richard; but he is of Wiltshire.

² State Papers: Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. cxlvi. No. 65.

³ In 1585. He died in 1589. M. H. Bloxam, from whom I take these details of Boughton's life (*Rugby*, p. 25), identifies the person named

to pull down the White Friars' Church in Coventry, and with the materials to build up a magnificent mansion at Cawston. Boughton is accused of many and varied malpractices, and the petitioners are too angry to be consistent. Not only is he a "favorer of notorious papistes," and "ioyned in league with them," but he is at the same time an "obstinate Puritane," despising the orders of Parliament, setting up and maintaining new fasts, new service, and such other like singular devices. Clearly the petitioners thought they had only to throw mud enough and some would be sure to stick. Nor does this exhaust the catalogue of the monster's crimes. He was withal a "packer of Juryes, to the pervertinge of justice and equitie," and opprest his poor neighbours, by tyranny and power making them "to stoupe vnto him in all purposes, and if theie will not, troublethe them to their vndoings; as of late by indictinge at Warwick, and fetchinge vpp to the Starr Chamber, or otherwise vexinge and molestinge, an hundred weomen and childreenn, or theare aboute, in the parish of Rugby." But the important part of this paper is yet to come. Boughton was a "boulsterer and mayntayner of evell men and of evell causes," chief of which evil men was one Nicholas Greenhill; and the cause of his vexing and molesting his neighbours in Rugby was, that they "did not favour him in placing" a certain person, called by a foul name, "to be scoolemaster theare."

in the petition with Edward Boughton, the son, of whom more anon. The mistake was natural before the discovery of the Inquisition of 1602, but much to be regretted, since it has thrown all dates twenty years wrong in the early history of the School.

As the indicting of an hundred women and children, or thereabout, had not the desired effect, Boughton took the law into his own hands; and, in the words of the petition, "he him selfe, with divers others in his companie, riotously and contrary to iustice, made a forcible entrie into the scoole of Rugby, and from thence removed with strong hande and displaced one Richard Seele, being quietlie possessed of the same for the space of eightene monethes before." That must have been a happy day for the boys of Rugby School.

But there are two sides to every question, and luckily we are not without knowledge of the other side in this. The petitioners foolishly blurt out the secret when they say that he is in league with notorious Papists, and "namelie, with one Barnard ffeilde." They are so angry that they do not see how damaging such an admission is to their cause. Barnard Field was none other than one of Lawrence Sheriffe's trustees, who alone had the right to appoint a Master in Rugby School; and I strongly suspect that Seale had done something which made it necessary to remove him. There is no need to suppose that any of the scandalous offences urged against Greenhill and Boughton¹ were true of Seale; we need only assume that he neglected his duty, or proved disloyal to Field in some way. It is not difficult to guess who is behind this petition. The hand may be the hand of a hundred women and children, but the voice is the voice

¹ These it is unnecessary to repeat; but those who wish to see what they were, can easily consult the original.

of Howkins. In fact, we see here the beginning of that dishonesty and greed which brought so much distress upon Rugby and its Masters, and finally lost to the Howkins family all interest in their kinsman's bequest. By this time I imagine John Howkins and Bridget to be dead;¹ for their son Anthony, as we have said, took possession of the property in 1579. I conceive that this Anthony was probably the moving spirit in the petition. Now, since Seale was a Warwickshire man, he may have been an old friend of the Howkins family; and even if he were not so, he may have entered into some kind of collusion with the tenant of Brownsover, whereby the Trust was like to suffer. This would have been a sufficient reason for Barnard Field to interfere. But whatever the reason really was, the Trustees, and they alone, had any right to appoint or displace, and did displace, Richard Seale, the schoolmaster.² As a matter of fact, Field did appoint Nicholas Greenhill to be schoolmaster at Michaelmas 1581;³ and as Seale is stated by the petitioners to have been in his post for eighteen months previously, and as this statement, if not true, is sure to be over the truth, the appointment of Seale may be placed in 1580.

Boughton's share in the matter has yet to be explained, but that is not difficult. Field lived in London, a long journey in those days; he had business of his own, and

¹ I have not succeeded in finding their wills.

² It is a curious coincidence that the two copies of *Sheriffe's Will and Intent*, which are preserved among the *Trust Papers* at Rugby, were made about this time. See Appendix.

³ See Appendix B.

perhaps was concerned with other grievances against Philip of Spain or the Sultan of Barbary. What more natural than to put the affair into the hands of a powerful magnate of the county, and one who, as we have seen, was his own friend? Boughton was certainly high-handed in his proceedings; but if Seale would not go, the strong hand may well have seemed better than the law's delay. It was open to Seale, if he felt himself aggrieved, to call in the law on his own part; but there is nothing to show that he ever did so.¹ Moreover, if he did prosecute, his suit must have failed, for Greenhill remained in possession for four-and-twenty years.

But Barnard Field, once bit, was twice shy, and determined to provide against a repetition of the late difficulty. Nicholas Greenhill was appointed on a three years' probation, after which he was to be and continue schoolmaster there during his life, if there should be no just cause given by him to the contrary. Field allowed him four pounds a year out of the rent of Conduit Close, over and above the twelve pounds paid him from the rents of Brownsover. Thus the Master received a larger salary than that assigned by Lawrence Sheriffe, and we see in this act reason to think that Field meant honestly by the Trust. An extra allowance of 34s. 8d. was also given to the almsmen, to bring up their money to 7d. a week each.²

¹ I have searched the catalogues of proceedings in Chancery for his name, but without success.

² *Chancery Bills and Answers*, D. 13, 15, in the Record Office. See *Rugby* in the *Index Locorum* to James I. This document likewise confirms the payment of £4 to the Master.

In this same year 1581, Field had given a lease of Conduit Close for forty-eight years to Robert Carre,¹ at a yearly rental of eight pounds. What became of the residue does not appear, but it may have been expended in repairs. No one ever accused Field of misappropriating this money, as would have been likely if he had so done; it is therefore probable that he used it for the purposes of the Trust. The case against him is more serious if it be true, as stated in a petition drawn up half a century later,² that the land was then worth twenty pounds by the year at least. If this were so, Field cannot be acquitted of disloyalty to his Trust, whether or not he received a money fine on allotting the lease. But the statement comes from the other side, and is probably exaggerated. In any case, this alone is not sufficient to condemn him. The only distinct fault that can be found is, that he made no arrangements for building separate rooms for the almsmen. It is, however, probable that he died soon after the appointment of Greenhill. In any case, that his death was not long delayed is clear, for the following reasons. Conduit Close was inherited by his only daughter, Elizabeth,³ then unmarried. Elizabeth afterwards married John Dakyn, and in 1600 (Nov. 20, 42 Eliz.) their son Barnard was old enough to convey the same to a certain John Vincent. Barnard Dakyn must have been a precocious youngster if Field lived to

¹ Carre was evidently a friend; he signs Mrs. Harrison's will as witness.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 12.

³ *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 9.

the end of the sixteenth century, or anywhere near it. But George Harrison died at the end of 1582 or early in 1583,¹ and Field survived him. Field's death must therefore be placed not earlier than 1583, and it cannot have been much later. That 1583 is the actual date is made practically certain by the Books of the Grocers' Company. In these Barnard Field appears as paying the brotherhood money regularly each year up to July 1582, and then the payment ceases. Field's death must therefore have followed close upon Harrison's. At all events, the Alms-houses were not built, and the four poor men continued to dwell in their rooms, cut off from the Master's house.

Of Nicholas Greenhill, thus appointed schoolmaster by Field, and instituted by the strong hand of Edward Boughton, I have little to tell. He has hitherto been identified with a namesake who appears in the Oxford Register as matriculating in 1598, and died "periwigged with snow" in 1650; but at the time of the first Greenhill's appointment to Rugby, the second was an infant of one year old. Nor was the younger man son of the

¹ His will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, February 22, 1582/3. The identity of this George Harrison is not beyond doubt, since the Inquisition says that he died before the appointment of Rolston. But the coincidences are so many as to make the identity of the two George Harrisons all but certain. These are—that both are described as "gentlemen"; that both lived in London, and the Harrison of the will lived close to Lawrence Sheriffe, and close to the property; that neither has heirs of his body lawfully begotten; that the name of Robert Carre occurs in Mrs. Harrison's will in 1584, and as the lessee of the property in 1581. Further, the Inquisition of 1602 states that Harrison died later than 1579.

Field's will I have been unable to find, either in the ordinary London courts or in the Bishops' Books of London.

elder, unless his unnatural father cut him off without a shilling. The Rugbeian Greenhill had an abundance of sisters and daughters, nephews and nieces, but no sons.¹ It is strange if there should have been two Nicholas Greenhills, both scholars, both clergymen, and so close together in time, yet not related, and I am therefore inclined to think that the Greenhill already known was a son of William Greenhill, the brother of Nicholas.² In his will Nicholas describes himself as "of Rugby, alias Rokeby, Clerk"; he was perhaps a Master of Arts for that reason, as well as because the Master of Rugby was always to be so if possible. He is also spoken of as Mr. Nicholas Greenhill, but this was many years after his death.³ No record of him exists, however, in the University Registers of Oxford or Cambridge. Of his career as a schoolmaster I know one thing only, that he educated John Howkins,⁴ and thereby nourished a snake in his bosom. This John Howkins was the third or fourth son of Anthony Howkins, and grandson of the John who married Bridget Sheriffe.⁵ He became a barrister of the Middle Temple, and lived at South Mims, in Middlesex. He died possessed of considerable wealth, and of a coat of arms.⁶ Born just before the appointment of Greenhill, he spent

¹ See his will in Somerset House, Book *Harte*, fol. 100. The date is Jan. 2, 1603/4; proved May 9, 1604.

² Mentioned in the will. One of the family was named Nicholas after him; why not another?

³ *Papers*, No. 72, fol. 18.

⁴ *Trust Papers*: Depositions, No. 86, fol. 150; 100A, fol. 8.

⁵ Will of Anthony Howkins; original at Rugby (*Trust Papers*).

⁶ Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 23.

“several years” under his tuition, and it does not appear that he had any other. It follows that Rugby School, unpretentious though it was, could then educate a gentleman well enough for the learned professions.

Greenhill seems himself to have been a man of considerable wealth for those days, or else he made more money by the School than might have been looked for. In his will he disposes of a couple of hundred pounds in legacies. Moreover, he spent some money on additions to the School-house, made necessary, doubtless, by the presence of the almsmen in it. He built out at the back several new rooms at his own proper costs and charges, which lasted until they were accidentally destroyed by fire about 1654. So at least deposes his ungrateful pupil John Howkins,¹ who adds that the Master repaired all the premises at his own expense. Greenhill also fitted up the hall with wainscot, and made a number of cupboards, and did other things for the improvement of the place. He married Elizabeth Fitzherbert, a widow, of Coventry. In one of the Chancery petitions,² “Nicholas Greenhill, of Rookebie, in the County of Warwick, scholemaster of the free grammar schole there,” supplicates the Lord Chancellor (Sir Thomas Bromley) against John Emerston, whose sister Greenhill had married. Emerston, being of a “gredie and covetous minde and disposition,” had refused to pay up a sum of forty pounds which Greenhill laid claim to.

During the latter years of Greenhill's mastership

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 100A, fol. 8.

² *Chancery Proceedings*: Elizabeth, Gg. 13, No. 7. Date not given.

things began to look dark, and there were heard as it were thunderclaps prophetic of the coming storm. Field was dead, and Conduit Close had come into the hands of Barnard Dakyn, as already related. About the year 1598 Dakyn discontinued the payment of four pounds to the schoolmaster,¹ and refused to pay the almsmen. Upon this Greenhill instituted a suit in Chancery against him. Dakyn went even further, and "unconscionably sold away the land from the school and almshouse"; in other words, on November 20, 1600, he conveyed the third part of Conduit Close to John Vincent. The Chancery suit dragged on for a long time, until Anthony Howkins stepped in, and sued out a Commission to sit upon that case. This was done "contrary to the liking" of Nicholas Greenhill; and thus the action which was to result in the victory of the Trust and the discomfiture of its enemies was due to one of those enemies themselves. Greenhill's suit was now stopped by a special order of the Lord Keeper, and in 1602 issued forth the first Commission under the Statute of Charitable Uses.

With the results of this first Commission we shall deal in the next chapter; but it will be convenient here to follow Greenhill's mastership to the end. He survived the Commission by only two years, and died in the first half of 1604.² By his last will and testament he bequeathed to the School where he had taught so long, "all the

¹ *Inquisition of 1602.* See Appendix B: "Until about three years and a half last past," the money was paid.

² He is clearly stated to have held the Mastership till his death. See *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 18, *et al.*

wainescots, cubbordes, and keyes in the hall, with all the glasse and dores about the house, there to remain to the use of the said Schole." With this last token of affection his shadowy figure disappears.

Before closing this chapter in the school history, I wish to say a word of the conduct of Field, the first active Trustee of Rugby School. Hitherto he has been severely blamed as being false to his trust, and as using the moneys and lands of the Trust to his own profit and gain. But I think that no one can read what has gone before without seeing that there is no real ground for this grave charge. Neither he nor Harrison can be absolved on the evidence from carelessness; though it is possible that did we know all, this imputation would likewise prove to be undeserved. What evidence there is comes from Field's enemies, so far as the deponents' names are known,¹ and we are therefore bound to assume he was at least no worse than they assert him to be. His delay in building the School, his neglect in not building the Almshouses, his omission to choose a fit and proper trustee to succeed him, instead of leaving the property to the heirs of his body—all these things go to show that he might have done more in the trust committed to him. Nor is there evidence to show that he ever visited the School to see that all was going on well. On the other hand, his action in Seale's case, and in the stipulation for three years' trial of the next Master, proves that he did

¹ Unfortunately the depositions made at the Inquisition of 1602 are not in the Record Office, so far as can be discovered.

something to ensure the proper behaviour of his nominees. Be it also remembered that London was a long journey from Rugby, and that Field had other and weighty concerns on his hands. Again, he is proved to have spent the greater part of the rents of the Conduit Close share in the proper way; and though he did not so spend it all, yet he may really have thought that it was not intended by Lawrence Sheriffe that the whole should be so spent. The Founder's intention certainly seems to have been to impose a fixed rent-charge on Brownsover, and perhaps also on Conduit Close. On the whole, then, the graver charge breaks down, while the lesser is perhaps capable of explanation; and it is well that this tardy reparation can be made to one whose memory has long been branded with an undeserved stigma.

III

THE FIRST TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS

AUGUSTINE ROLFE, M.A. (?) 1604—(?) 1625¹—WILGENT GREENE,
B.A., (?) 1625–1641—EDWARD CLERKE, M.A., 1641—
RAPHAEL PEARCE, M.A., 1641–1651.

WE have now followed the School through its early years, and seen it settling down after one shock into what might seem likely to be a useful if quiet existence. But the evils which might have been expected from the mode of endowment have already begun to appear, and these are destined in the next fifty years to make head in such a way as to threaten the very existence of Rugby School. It is indeed a period of storm and stress which we now enter upon, and marvellous it is how the School ever survived it.

Sometime in the last few years of the sixteenth century, Nicholas Greenhill, as we have seen, brought an action for recovery of certain moneys which were being unlawfully kept back by the heir of Lawrence Sheriffe's Trustees. This heir, Barnard Dakyn, was evidently a headstrong youth who would stick at nothing; and not deterred by the suit, he actually sold the school share

¹ For the date 1625, see below.

of Conduit Close in the year 1600 to John Vincent for £120, a little more than the Founder gave for it. It appears that John Vincent died in 1602,¹ leaving the property to his wife Rose (who afterwards married Roger Wood), and in reversion to her infant daughters Philadelphia and Anne. Meanwhile, Anthony Howkins got a Commission in Chancery appointed, thinking no doubt that he would settle the Master's troublesome claims once and for all. This was in the next year after the passing of an Act called the Statute for Charitable Uses, which became law on October 27, 1601. The Commission, appointed under the Great Seal of England in May 1602, held an Inquisition at Rugby the September following;² and it is to the document which records the finding of this Inquisition we owe most of our knowledge of the early history of Rugby School.³ The result of this Inquisition was a complete remodelling of the Trust, which was placed on a basis which ought to have been firm. The vice of the previous arrangement having been clearly shown, all the school property was vested in a body of twelve Trustees or Feoffees,⁴ who were thereby duly appointed. Those chosen were men of standing and repute, and thus provision was made for avoiding a repetition of the late frauds. Lest by the death of these in succession one man should again get the whole property into his hands, it was provided that when any three

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 10. See tables in Appendix.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 72.

³ See Appendix. Copy of Decree: *Trust Papers*, No. 76.

⁴ The list given in the *Rugby Register*, vol. i. p. vii., is correct.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 49

vacancies should have occurred, they should be filled up forthwith by co-opting, and that a new deed of feoffment should be drawn up conveying the property to the whole body thus constituted. All the new Trustees were gentlemen of the county of Warwick; one of them, Richard Neale, lived in Rugby, and another, James Willington, was of Brownsover. Among the names we find that of John Leigh, Esq., son of Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stoneleigh; and this family is still connected in the same way with Rugby School in the person of Lord Leigh, Chairman of the Trustees. Ever since this date of 1602, a few years only being excepted, a Leigh has been among the Trustees or Governors of Rugby School.

The Commission went on to confirm Nicholas Greenhill as Master, and to decree that those who were then almsmen in possession should so remain for their lives, on condition of good behaviour. The schoolmaster's salary was to be for the future sixteen pounds. Of this the tenants of Brownsover were to pay twelve pounds, with six shillings and eightpence for repairs; and fivepence a week was to be paid to the almsmen. The Howkinses were to continue as farmers of Brownsover, paying the rent of £16. 13s. 4d., fixed by Lawrence Sheriffe, which exactly covers the allowances here specified. The remainder was to be paid out of the rents of Conduit Close, together with twopence a week more to the almsmen, making sevenpence in all. The sale made to Vincent was annulled, and Dakyn was ordered to repay the purchase money to his heirs. Any surplus, together with

the sums of £50 and £17 above mentioned, was to be used in building new almshouses. This done, any further surplus was to be used for repairs, and for augmenting the allowances of the Master and the almsmen. It should be mentioned that the Inquisition found Conduit Close to be worth at least £20 a year, though leased for £8. Perhaps a remark about digging for clay and gravel, which is to be seen in a later document,¹ may help to explain this increase in value.

As regards the buildings, the Schoolhouse was found to be in good repair; but not so the Almshouses, which were ruinous. The reader will recollect that there were no separate lodgings for the almsmen as yet; and it was decreed—

That the said ffoure poore Almesmen should dwell in the houses and lodgings as they then did, till such time as other houses and lodgings should be builded or provided for them according to that Order, and after that, then the Schoole-master for the time being to have the same House wholly: and until some new and convenient provision of houses should be made for the said ffoure poore Almesmen according to the Intent of the said Lawrence Sheriffe, the same ffoure Almesmen not to be put out of the said houses then used as Almshouses, in noe wise.²

This looks excellent on paper; but one small neglect spoilt the whole—nothing was said in the decree as to the Trustees' meeting at fixed intervals. Consequently

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 36.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 12, quoted from *Decree*, fol. 13.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 51

they appear to have neglected their trust; at least so I gather from the fact that Vincent's wife refused to pay her part of the rent, and claimed the full possession of Conduit Close by right of inheritance. She denied that she had been given notice of the Inquisition, notwithstanding that she was interested in it; and it was even asserted that Vincent when he bought the land was not aware of the conditions of the Trust. The last statement was false,¹ but there may have been some truth in the other, although that too is denied by the other side.² However, Rose Wood (as she was now called) succeeded in persuading the Court of Chancery that she had just cause of complaint; and a new Commission was ordered.

Meanwhile the Masters had not been idle. Between 1602 and 1604,³ Nicholas Greenhill continued to do all he could to get Dakyn to pay his dues. As a counter-buffet Dakyn filed a bill in Chancery against Greenhill and Richard Neale, "two of the defendants" (the Commission of 1602 was sued out, it will be remembered, by Anthony Howkins). Greenhill's reply states that Dakyn had "detained the wages" of himself and the almsmen, and specified the causes of complaint. After the death of Greenhill, Augustine Rolfe was appointed Master, and he continued the suit against Dakyn. But the man still proved obdurate, and nothing could be done. We may

¹ Inquisition *ut supra*; Nicholas Greenhill's Answer to Barnard Dakyn.

² By Nicholas Greenhill.

³ *Chancery Bills and Answers*, James I., D. 13, 15. The date must be 1603 or 1604, for obvious reasons.

well ask what the Trustees were doing all this time. It is clear that they, or some of them, instituted proceedings in or soon after the year 1602; for Richard Neale, "one of the defendants," was also one of the Trustees. But it is equally clear that they cannot have taken a very keen interest in the business; otherwise, with the support of men of influence, Rugby School must have come better out of it. Even the law would hardly delay a dozen years to enforce its own decrees. However, matters were at last brought to a head in 1612, when Rolfe got a writ *de executione* against Barnard Dakyn. But now Rose Wood succeeded in getting the second Commission appointed. This Commission, allowing the plaintiff's plea, annulled the decree of the first, and the whole business was done over again in 1614 at Hixhall, or Hicks Hall, in Middlesex.¹ But Rose found that a Commission has its thorns, for in the end it confirmed the decree of 1602. Now Rose, whom we can hardly pity, found herself saddled with arrears and costs, as well as with all the obligations she had hoped to escape. Not only had she to pay £35. 10s. in arrears of the rent due for the years 1600-2, but rent from 1602 onwards at the rate of £20 a year. The schoolmaster was to have £24. 10s. 8d., and the almsmen fourpence per week, besides the fivepence from Brownsover; and for the future, repairs of the school premises were to be paid for by the Master for the time being. At the same time, a new body of twelve Trustees

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 72; also in Record Office (*Charitable Uses, Warwickshire; Inquisitions*, Bundle 6, No. 1). £12. 10s. 8d. from Conduit Close only.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 53

was appointed, containing several of the old names. As nothing is said here of building almshouses, it is to be gathered that separate lodgings were built as decreed after 1602.

Augustine Rolfe, or Rolph, who has been mentioned as fourth Master of Rugby School, will probably have been appointed by the Trustees when Greenhill died in 1604. They were new brooms then, and doubtless swept a clean corner. No record exists of his appointment, however, nor of his scholastic career, nor of the date of his death. That he died at his post is to be inferred from the document so often quoted;¹ and if his will should ever turn up,² this would settle the date of his end and the next appointment. I know of him only that he was of Queen's College, Cambridge, that he took his Master's degree in 1595,³ and that he was incorporated at Oxford in 1599.⁴ In the next generation another Augustine Rolfe makes his appearance at Queen's,⁵ and it is surely not improbable that this was the son of the first. If so, he was probably educated at his father's school.

At this period Rugby was sending boys to the Universities, as we see from the entry of George Isham,⁶ at Sidney

¹ No. 72; see Appendix.

² I have searched the chief Somerset House Registers for it in vain.

³ Cambridge University Register.

⁴ *Alumni Oxonienses*.

⁵ Queen's College: matriculated as a Sizar, July 13, 1628; B.A., 1631; M.A., 1635.

⁶ *Registers*: 1621. Georgius Isham natus Bugbruckiae in Comitatu Northamptoniensi filius Gregorij Isham de Barby in eodem Com: Armingi, Rugbiae in Comitatu Warwicensi in communi schola sub Augustino Rolfe Artium M^o per triennium plus minus *Litteris Grammaticis*

Sussex College, Cambridge. The entry, which is given below, proves Rolfe to have been living in 1621, and another entry of the same register shows his successor in office a few years later. Isham, it will be seen, came from Barby, and was therefore not on the foundation. It is more likely that he boarded with Rolfe than that he walked or rode in to school every day, but nothing can be said with certainty of that. Isham is the first Rugbeian who is proved by direct evidence to have proceeded to either University.

About the year 1612 another enemy of Rugby School appeared. This was Edward Boughton, son of the Edward Boughton who gave the boys of Rugby a pleasant entertainment thirty years before. Perhaps emboldened by the success of the Vincent brood, Boughton cast a covetous eye on the tithes and glebe land of Brownsover. The tenant was then Anthony Howkins, the son of Bridget and John, and he consented to alienate the tithes and a portion of the glebe land for a yearly payment of £28. 17s. 6d. According to Howkins' own account,¹ Boughton was even more high-handed than his father. He sent a man to survey the land and to mark out the portion he wanted; he anticipated no difficulty, being a man "of

institutus, adolescens annorum 19 admissus est pensionarius minor Jun. 30. Tutore et fideiussore M^{ro} Ri. Danford S. Theologiae baccalaureo Solvitque pro ingressu v^o.

¹ *Chancery Bills and Answers*, Charles I., R. 45, No. 62; Nov. 1632. This gives a detailed account of the transaction, with names. Another, given in *Trust Papers*, Nos. 91 and 100A (evidence taken on oath), bears this out as far as it goes, but it is less full. See also his will (original at Rugby).

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 55

great worth, power, and command in the said county of Warwick" (his friends call him also "well beloved," but we take that with a grain). Poor Anthony was eighty years old at the time, "very lame and of a weak understanding, and had no friends present at the measuring thereof;" all he could do was to write and beg Boughton to do no wrong to him or the charity. He adds that he besought the great man to wait until his son came from London, but Boughton persuaded him it was needless. Boughton also gave Mrs. Howkins "five pounds and many good words" for Howkins to sign the necessary document. But they would not let him examine it, and Howkins now began to fight shy. Upon this Boughton and some of his friends determined upon a surprise. He "and other of his subtil company" entered the house of Anthony on a sudden, and forced or frightened him into lending his hand and seal to the deed, which they then carried off, leaving him "full of doubts and fears." Anthony now "in very much discontent complained that he was surprised and abused by the said Edward Boughton," and demanded a copy of the deed, or he would not alienate the tithes. Whereat Boughton, "in great fury and outrage, with his said tenants and confederates, came again to the said farmer's house, threatening to lay him in prison, and not leave him worth a groat." He also seized cattle and sheep belonging to Anthony, and did so much to annoy him that the unlucky old man gave way for the sake of peace and quiet. Thus, he says plaintively, Boughton "circumvented and entrapped your poor

orator." There is some reason for thinking that Anthony was not so coy as he would have us believe; still there is little doubt that he was coerced into doing this wrong. Many years afterwards a later body of Trustees found out what had been done, and called upon Boughton's heir for reparation;¹ but it does not appear that the Trustees at the time made any kind of protest. Probably they never even heard of the fraud; and so far did they carry their laxity, that Anthony, Elias his son, and William his grandson, all enjoyed the use of the Brownsover property without taking any lease from the Trustees.² Not only so, but Anthony in his will entailed the Brownsover property on his male descendants for ever, according to the custom of primogeniture; and the Conduit Close third part he left to his son John, as though the whole property were his own.

We now return to the fortunes of the Rugby School case. Will it be believed that, after all the evidence given before the first Commission as to the value of Conduit Close, the Trustees in 1614 proceeded to assign a lease of it for a rental of ten pounds only? Indeed so they did;³ and the fortunate lessee, Henry Clarke, of Whitechapel, having obtained this lease for forty years, promptly transferred it to the previous tenant, Rose Wood, who doubtless paid him a handsome fine for the privilege, as did a later lessee on Clarke's lease.⁴

¹ *Trustees' Books*, Order of August 7, 1753.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 19, *et al.* One lease, however, was granted to Anthony, which expired in 1628/9 (p. 26).

³ *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 26, 27.

⁴ No. 80, fol. 21.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 57

There is no evidence that the Trustees took further trouble about the charity, but all the evidence there is points to the contrary. Whereas it was their duty to receive the rents and make disbursements, we find this being done by others. Towards the end of Rolfe's reign the Howkinses paid their twelve pounds to the Master direct, and this practice continued for twenty years or more. Witnesses before the third Commission deposed to having seen a regular book of accounts kept by Elias Howkins, in which Rolfe and his two next successors had written their receipts for three pounds a quarter.¹ For some years previous to 1628, John Howkins, a son of Anthony, was considered as the owner of Conduit Close, and paid ten pounds a year to Anthony.² What he did with it does not appear, nor is it clear in what relation John stood to the tenants of that property afterwards. Rose Wood seems to have bowed to the inevitable, paid up her arrears, and continued to pay the rent of ten pounds, though doubtless with a bad grace. So things

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 86, fol. 41, and 100A, fol. 8: depositions made in 1654. The deponent is Elias Howkins (born about 1624), who was educated under Greene; but the sheet bearing his name is lost.

² See his will in the *Papers*: "Item my will and meaning is my sonne John Howkins shall and may peaceably and quietly have holde and enioye to him and to his heires for ever all my third parte of the feilde commonly called Conditt feild . . . accordinge to a deede of ffeoffmente to him thereof made, and a tyme therevpon by me acknowledged for good and valuable considerations, for that he redeemed the said landes from me John Harborne [*sic*: query 'for me from J. H.'], and payd diverse other somes of money for me, and according to his promise hath truely and faithfully payd vnto me Ten poundes yearly every yeare since he hath held the same vntill this present tyme."

went on for a few years longer, until the death of Rolfe brought a new actor on the scene.

The Master who next followed Rolfe bore the remarkable name of Wilgent Greene.¹ He is described in the Oxford books as a "gentleman," and matriculated from Oriel College. In 1616 he proceeded B.A., but there is no record of his having taken a Master's degree. He seems to have lost no time in lodging a complaint against the lease of Henry Clarke, as being an injury to the Trust, pointing out that the Trust was suffering from the neglect of the Trustees. We may infer that the complaint was not immediately settled, not only from the universal experience of mankind, but because he found it prudent to make a private agreement with Rose Wood. The law and the lady together seem to have been too much for poor Greene, and he in a weak moment consented to accept five pounds more by the year, making fifteen pounds in all. Greene, of course, had no right whatever to do this, but it was not his fault. The Trustees must be held responsible, both for this and for the misfortunes of the succeeding years. The court agreed to the compromise, and ordained that on these terms Rose Wood should enjoy the tenancy during her life. This was in 1633,² which bears out the supposition that Greene was appointed shortly before that date.

Notwithstanding the vexations of legal proceedings

¹ *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.v. For the date of his appointment, see below, p. 59.

² May 1, 8° Car. : *Trust Papers*, No. 72, fol. 81.

and the neglect of the Trustees, Rugby School continued to do its appointed task. Greene's predecessors, with one notable exception, appear to have been men discreet and learned enough; and Greene himself was no less so. During his Mastership there is record of four Rugbeians at Cambridge. The first of these is Edward Sclater,¹ who entered at Sidney in 1629. From this entry we can make a rough calculation as to the date of Greene's appointment. Sclater is said to have been one year under Greene at the "public School of Rugby," and afterwards to have been taught at home *per annos aliquot*. The phrase can hardly mean less than three, so we get 1625 as the latest date possible for Greene's coming to Rugby. In 1634, Thomas Bletsoe² entered from the school at St. John's, and Richard Halford³ went up to Christ's four years later. These to us are mere names; but greater interest attaches to the fourth, Knightley Harrison, who entered in 1634 at Sidney.⁴

¹ 3 *Sidney Sussex Register*: 1629. Edvardus Sclater filius Joannis Sclater S.S.T. Baccalaur. et Rectoris Ecclesiae de Lawford, vulgo dictae, Church Lawford in agro Warwi- seu Vervicensi, natus Laytoniae in comitatu Bedfordiensi, literis grammaticalibus operam dedit per unius anni spacium in oppido de Rugby, praeceptore Wilgentio Greene, postea vero in paternis aedibus per annos aliquot a patri institutus, tandem Cantabrigiam petiit et admissus est Pensionarius minor anno aetat: suae 17^o Jun. 11, 1629. Tutore M^{ro} Ri. Minshall, solvitque pro ingressu 5^l.

² 1634. Thomas Bletsoe, son of Hugh Bletsoe, gent., of Lutterworth, School Rugby (Mr. Greene). Sizar, 17 Dec., age 17. (I have to thank Mr. E. E. Sikes, of St. John's, for this entry.)

³ 1638. 11 June. Ri. Halford, son of Henry Halford, of Bowden, Northants, Rugby (Greene), age 16. (I have to thank Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's, for this entry.)

⁴ 1634. Knightleius Harrison filius M^{ri} Joannis Harrison Rectoris de Yelvertoft in agro Northampt: ibidem natus et literis grammaticis

He was one year at Rugby School, and for the rest was something of a rolling stone. Knightley Harrison afterwards became Master of Rugby, the first Rugbeian who is recorded to have been Master of his old School.

Greene was evidently working the School up, in spite of difficulties. Two of these boys must have been boarders, and they all may have been so. Nor is it in the least likely that these were the only boys sent up to the Universities from Rugby. Of all the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, four only, so far as I have been able to discover, show details of schools and masters in their Entrance Registers at this early date. These are Christ's and St. John's (both on the same royal foundation), Gonville and Caius, and Sidney Sussex, at Cambridge;¹ and at Oxford, not one. If Rugby boys are found within a few years at three out of these four, it is only fair to assume that there were others elsewhere. It is also probable that the same is true of an earlier date, though perhaps in a less degree. The reader needs only to recall the case of John Howkins, and Mr. Nicholas Greenhill's comfortable nest of eggs.

institutus per septennium opera M^{ri} Nicholai Lovingdein, in Schola publica Rugbeiensi in Com. Warwicensi per spatium anni, ultimo Coventriae in schola communi sub M^{re} White per biennium et aliquot menses adolescens annorum 16 admissus est pensionarius ad convictum Scholarium discipulorum Maii 10. Tutore Clemente Burton SS. The. Bac. solvitque pro ingressu v^o.

¹ The entries in question begin at the following dates: Caius, 1559/60; Sidney, 1609; Christ's, 1622; St. John's, 1629/30. The first and last are printed, and the third soon will be. The Sidney Registers are very interesting, and it is to be hoped they will not be left in MS.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 61

In 1641, Wilgent Greene died; and on his death an event took place which shows how careless the Trustees must have been in fulfilling their trust. All the Trustees of 1614 were dead except two, Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stoneleigh, and Sir Roger Fielding. Evidently the clause of the decree providing for the co-opting of new Trustees after the death of any three, had been entirely neglected, for five new ones had been appointed by Chancery in 1632.¹ But a still greater neglect is shown in the terms of a petition² presented in 1642 by some of the inhabitants of Rugby to Francis Lord Dunsmore, son of the late John Leigh, Esq., one of the Trustees of 1602. In this remarkable document the inhabitants of Rugby claim as "their accustomed right" the choice of the schoolmaster. If this be not mere bluster, it means that Wilgent Greene was elected by the people of Rugby, and perhaps Rolfe also. We may suppose the fact to be that the people of Rugby, or those prominent among them, chose a man for the post, and then asked the Trustees to confirm the

¹ List in Rugby School Register is correct.

² Printed in Bloxam's *Rugby*, pp. 34, 35. I use this copy because I cannot trace the original. But I have some reluctance in so doing, since there are evidences of incorrect copying. "Delayne the Schooles Gallary, the poores means," is not lucid; and I have no doubt the manuscript reads, "detayne the Schoole [or Schoolmⁿ] sallary," which is what the defaulters always did. "Detayned their wages" has already occurred in Greenhill's *Answer* (above, p. 51), and it is a kind of stock phrase. Yet a theory has been based upon the supposed "gallary." I may mention that a long & carelessly written is easily mistaken for *g*.—Since writing the above, I have found a transcript of this petition, which appears to be in Mr. Bloxam's hand. It reads, "*detayne the Schoole sallary.*"

choice. No doubt the Trustees were glad enough to accept an arrangement which saved so much trouble. Of any official appointment by Trustees or by one of them, in document or otherwise, no trace exists among the *Trust Papers* until 1651. There were no regular accounts kept, no minutes made, and everything bears out the supposition that since Greenhill's day the inhabitants of Rugby had been the real governors of Rugby Charity. Among the "inhabitants of Rugby" there were, as we see, two factions—those who wished well to the Trust, though perhaps not without some desire to have a finger of their own in the pie; and those who wished to use the Trust to their own private advantage. The latter rallied round the Howkins clan, who paid the schoolmaster and almsmen, as we have seen. There is also reason to think they had a great deal to say in appointing of the almsmen. William Howkins on one occasion took a leaf out of an old book, and finding an almsman already in possession, knocked the lock off the door, and put in his man by force.¹ Another enemy (though perhaps united to the Howkinses in a dual alliance, which has its parallel in modern political life) was Sir William Boughton, son of Edward. One of the Howkinses' grievances against this man was that he "placed and displaced almsmen at his own pleasure." Once he even put in an able-bodied youth of twenty, one of his own tenants, who took his sevenpence or ninepence a week, and enjoyed himself for many a long year.² The friendly party, whom we may call the benevo-

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 19. ² Named Butler. *Ibid.*, No. 86, fol. 20, *et al.*

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 63

lent despots, consisted at the time of which we now speak, of the Rector, Mr. Nalton, of Richard Elbrowe, and a number of others,¹ some of whom we meet again as tradesmen in the Trustees' Accounts. These persons seem to have called a representative public meeting; for they state that the "inhabitants of Rugby, consisting of nine score families," chose as Master a certain Edward Clerke, Master of Arts. The choice was approved by "the neighbouring towns who are to have benefit, as well as your petitioners," and then submitted for ratification to the surviving Trustees of 1614, and to the heirs of those who were dead. The majority of those applied to appear to have consented to place Clerke in the School; but as there was some dispute, the matter "came to hearing before the late Lord Keeper, who thought fit and so ordered that Clerke should have the place. And the said Clerke was thereupon, and by an order of this court, placed accordingly in the said School." There is other evidence to confirm this statement that Clerke actually held the post for some little time. Among the papers of the Trust² is a case stated for the opinion of counsel. The historical recital in the earlier part of it contains mistakes, but there can be no mistake about one sentence, "Now [Edw]ard Clerke is Schoolem^r; and hee may alsoe in his tyme avoyde the Lease and obteyne all arerages which will bee about 250^{li}." We must therefore add Clerke's name to the list of Masters.

¹ See the petition, *l.c.*

² Not numbered, but enclosed by me in a white envelope. Opinion of R. W. Newdigate at foot. The paper is torn.

There is no reason for doubting that this Edward Clerke is the man described in *Alumni Oxonienses* as the son of Henry Clerke,¹ of Rugby, *plebeius*.² From his later record he was clearly a fit and proper person for the post, and it was a pity that he was not continued in it. His rival was by no means so satisfactory a person; and it is one of the many puzzles of these years why this appointment was allowed to be set aside. As a Rugby man, he was probably educated in the School, although no evidence to prove it is forthcoming. If so, Clerke, and not Harrison, is the first Rugbeian who was Master of his old School.

The rival candidate was backed by Sir Roger Fielding, one of the two surviving Trustees of 1614. His name was Raphael Pearce, and he, like Clerke, was a "plebeian," of Warwickshire.³ At this time Pearce was, and for some fourteen years had been, vicar of Long Itchington, near Rugby. The petitioners amiably point out that Pearce was poor and had many children, who might become chargeable to the parish if he were appointed. These arguments naturally showed themselves in a different

¹ Was this the Henry Clerke, then of Whitechapel, who took a lease of Conduit Close for £10? See above, p. 56.

² Matriculated from Magdalen Hall, July 4, 1634, aged 16; B.A., Jan. 15, 1635/6; M.A., from Hart Hall, Oct. 30, 1638; D.D., Dec. 1, 1660; Canon of Rochester, 1670; "perhaps Rector of Bowers Gifford, Essex, 1641, and again 1661, having probably been ejected."

³ Matriculated from Balliol College, Nov. 10, 1618, aged 18; B.A., Nov. 14, 1622; M.A., July 6, 1626 (called Ralph); vicar of Long Itchington, 1628-42. He is always Raphael in the *Papers* and *Books* at Rugby.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 65

light to Pearce, who was glad to exchange his poor vicarage for the luxury of sixteen pounds a year and a boarding-house. Sir Roger Fielding and Mr. Bassett, who was afterwards elected a Trustee, moved the influential people of the county on his behalf, running a cross-fire of accusations of bribery and corruption, but undismayed. In the end they prevailed; Edward Clerke was deposed from his post, and in 1641¹ Raphael Pearce became the seventh Master of Rugby School.

Poor Pearce seems to have been a weak man, and during his lifetime things went from bad to worse in the Rugby charity. In vain he prayed and petitioned Sir Thomas Leigh to choose other Trustees who might take some interest in the School, "having found the want of feoffees very prejudicial," and those already elected living remote and being occupied with greater cares.² There was no response, and the School seemed left to its fate. A pitiful picture of the Master's life is given in a petition³ drawn up after his death on behalf of Mrs. Pearce, the almsmen, and certain inhabitants of Rugby, to obtain arrears claimed by them. The Master, according to this interesting document, "for his singular Learning and Industry was exceeding fitt for the said Place, and

¹ The date follows from Note 2, p. 66, combined with the statement in No. 72 that he was appointed in 17 Charles I. (i.e. between March 27, 1641, and March 26, 1642). See also 100 A., fol. 8, where a receipt of Pearce's is dated 1641.

² *Trust Papers*: bundle of documents without numbers, now enclosed in white envelope.

³ See Appendix: *Trust Papers*, No. 72.

deserved much more than his share of the income of the Trust." His industry we will take for granted ; but the lady's judgement of learning may perhaps be suspected, inasmuch as she could not write her own name. She signs a receipt for moneys received with a cross, "Joan Pearce + her mark."¹ However, we must not be too severe on a disability which Joan Pearce shared with Shakespeare's mother and Milton's daughter. Yet although with Pearce learning did not begin at home, he managed to send up his boys to the Universities as heretofore, unless Richard Mason of St. John's is a solitary instance.² Mason lived at Pailton, so he must have been a boarder. But this was at the beginning of Pearce's tenure, and as time went on there can have been little work done at Rugby School. With the poor man's sufferings we cannot but feel the fullest sympathy. The Howkinsees, seeing what manner of man they had to do with, began to keep back part of his salary. As the petitioners plead, "his great meritt and paines taking notwithstanding," a certain Widow Howkins, tenant of the Brownsover parsonage, "did ever since the beginning of these unhappy Warres to the time of his death denye to pay unto him" and the almsmen the rent due from her. The tenants of the

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 130 : Joan Pearce's receipt for fifteen pounds in part payment of arrears, February 2, 1668/9.

² St. John's College, Cambridge, 1642. "Richard Mason, son of Edward Mason, plebei, of Pelton, Warwickshire ; born at Pelton ; school, Rugby (Mr. Peirse) for one year ; admitted sizar for Mr. Peachy, surety Mr. Topping, Nov., æt. past 16." (For this entry I am indebted to Mr. E. E. Sikes.)

Close property also waxed fat and wanton, refusing to pay even the rent of fifteen pounds a year which they had agreed to pay to Wilgent Greene. They urged in excuse that their land had been damaged by breastworks drawn across it during the Civil War, "whereas the said Close conteyneth Ten acres or thereabouts, and not the quantitie of one acre thereof was spoyled by the said workes." The complaint was well grounded, and is attested by evidence. We are told that neither Elias, Jane, and William Howkins, "nor any of them, did pay unto the said Raphael Pearce the aforesaid sum of Twelve pounds yearly, but did deduct and keepe back a greate parte thereof for taxes and quarters, amounting in the whole to the summe of 11^{li} 17^s 5^d."¹ From other entries² it would appear that this sum was kept back in one or more years, so that the unfortunate Pearce seems to have received for his year's salary two shillings and sevenpence sterling. It is not surprising to learn that thereby "he was much dampnified." In consequence, Pearce "became in extreme want and exceeding poore, having nothing many times wherewith to provide Bread for himselfe his wife and children, which caused a wonderfull weakness in his body. Which same weakness, for want of sufficient dyet, growing more and more upon him, it brought him at last to his much lamented death," to the great loss of the children of the neighbourhood, "who might otherwise to this day and for a long time have

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 25, fol. 33. The language leaves it doubtful whether this was not a sum total of more years than one.

² As in the Appendix, *Breviate*; and elsewhere in the *Papers*.

been taught by so able honest and painfull a Schoole master." Pearce died about midsummer 1651,¹ having for some little time before ceased to teach,² and leaving his family destitute.

During this gloomy period the School and Schoolhouse were falling into a terrible state of ruin. As the Master did not receive his salary, he could hardly be expected to keep the premises in repair; and although the Howkinses swore they had done so, this was certainly not true. Some small jobs may have been done, but it was proved that for many years the house had been tottering, and one Henry Perkins deposed that "the Schoole house end in all his tyme was stopped with straw to keepe out rain and wind."³ John Howkins accused Pearce of suffering "decayes and tymber to be carried away."⁴ Perhaps the timbers had fallen down, or perhaps the poor man sold them to keep body and soul together. He is also accused of breaking up the beams and benches of the School for firewood.⁵ This was after a fire which destroyed part of the house.

Such was the deplorable state of Rugby School in the middle of the seventeenth century. And not of Rugby only; for during many years the nation had been con-

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 95, *Brief*, section 20.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 51, printed in Appendix: "first by the desertion and after by the death of Mr. Raphaell Peirce."

³ *Trust Papers*, No. 97. Perkins was educated at the school under Greene, No. 86, fol. 60.

⁴ Francis Satchell's evidence, *Trust Papers*, No. 138, fol. 10.

⁵ *Chancery Depositions: Charitable Uses, Warwickshire*, Bundle 16, No. 4 (1654). *Papers*, No. 86, fol. 15.

TWO CHANCERY COMMISSIONS 69

cerned more with fighting than teaching. Many a school must have been nigh to destruction, like the Grammar School of Grimston, which, as well as Rugby, had its schoolhouse in ruins, and its master gone.¹ But, as the old ballad says, "when bale is at highest, boot is at next." Brighter days were approaching, and a new stage in the School's history will be opened in the following chapter.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1656, p. 387.

IV

THE CASE IS SETTLED

PETER WHITEHEAD, 1661-1660—JOHN ALLEN, M.A.,
1660-1670.

It was now more than half a century since the proceedings in Chancery began, and the state of affairs were this. Rose Wood had disappeared from this mortal scene, and the Howkins family had got into their hands the whole of the property at stake. Over the property in Brownsover they claimed absolute ownership and right of disposal, subject only to the annual rent charge of £16. 13s. 4d., although the value of it had increased to £56. The actual tenant at this time was William Howkins, great-grandson of John and of Bridget, the sister of Lawrence Sheriffe; he had lately married, and upon marriage, he, with his wife Mary, settled in the old parsonage house. John Howkins, of whom we have already spoken, the barrister of South Mims, had got a lease of the Conduit Close share from Rose Wood's executor, and acknowledged no more than a claim of fifteen pounds a year on the part of the School. He even made deductions from this sum for taxes and occasional damages. Yet the land was already sublet for twenty

pounds.¹ John Howkins was now the heart of the whole business, moving heaven and earth to effect his purposes, and alleging all manner of malice and evil intent. Two Commissions having already sat in 1602 and 1614, Howkins applied for a third, which is said to have been granted in 1652.² But as it appeared that certain documents had been taken out and burnt (this is laid at the door of the Howkins family), this Commission proved abortive, and in 1653 it was superseded by another, which finally settled the case.³ The inquiry proved that the Howkinses and the previous tenants of Conduit Close had misused the profits of the lands which they held. It consequently decreed that William and Mary Howkins were to be outed of the possession of the Brownsover property, and arrears were to be paid amounting in all to the large sum of £742. 8s. 4d., which was to be employed in paying salaries due, and costs, and in repair of the School buildings and Almshouses. A new body of twelve Trustees was appointed; or rather, those still surviving, namely, Sir John Cave, William Dixwell, Timothy St. Nicholas, Walter Marriott, were confirmed in the Trust, and others were added to fill up the number of twelve.⁴ The whole property of the Trust was vested in these Trustees; but it was recommended that those of the body of John and Mary Howkins should have preference as tenants in Brownsover, as directed by the Founder; not,

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 80, fol. 21, where full details are given.

² Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 37; Brief printed in full.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ List in *Rugby School Register*, vol. i. p. viii.

however, paying the sum of £16. 13s. 4d. as rent, but "such rents as the feoffees shall think fit." At the same time the Commission, mindful of the past, administered a gentle rebuke to the Trustees by making provisions which must keep them up to their work, or else lay them open to a serious action at law. They were told to meet four times a year; and to prevent these meetings being crowded together to the detriment of the Trust, the days were fixed as the first Tuesday in February, May, August, and November. They were to draw up orders for the good conduct of School and almsmen; they were enjoined to fill up vacancies at their next meeting after each; they were to receive rents and pay salaries. No lands were to be let for more than seven years, and never for less than the greatest rent that could be got. All repairs were to be paid for by the Trustees out of surplus moneys, not by the Schoolmaster as heretofore; and any overplus after all expenses were paid to be divided *pro rata* between Schoolmaster and almsmen. They were to provide a chest with four locks and keys, only to be opened at their meetings, wherein they were directed to place all records, deeds, and counterparts of leases. The Howkinses, still game, exhibited exceptions to this decree, and the legal adviser of the Trust made replications thereto. This dragged the wearisome case on for fourteen years longer, but the decree was not upset. At last, on November 26, 1667, just a century after the decease of the Founder, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, finally confirmed the

previous decree. Since that day no vexatious litigants have attacked the property of Rugby School.

In 1678 died one of the chief opponents of the Trust, John Howkins, barrister-at-law, of South Mims, in the county of Middlesex, at the age of ninety-nine years. His will¹ disposes of several pieces of land in Hadley, Browns-over, Middlesex, and the Strand, and shows him to have been a rich man. To the last he kept his ineradicable bitterness against the school where he had been educated; and this is the more remarkable, because he was by way of being a charitable person himself in his own county. He speaks of five almshouses which he had built in South Mims many years before. His bequest for them, however, is coupled with conditions that indicate a quarrel with the clergyman or churchwardens. Perhaps he believed it just that he should rob Peter to pay Paul; for his last request to his cousin, William Howkins, is that he should get the opinion of counsel about his right in Brownsover parsonage, from which "the grandson of John and Bridget Howkins was outed contrary to the intent of Lawrence Sheriffe, and contrary to all equity and good conscience."

The last years of Raphael Pearce were embittered by want, and it is not surprising to learn that he ceased to perform his duties some little time before his death. We have nothing to show who, if any one, took care of the School between Pearce's "desertion" (as our authority calls it)² and the appointment of his successor in the

¹ In Somerset House, Book *Reeve*, fol. 126; proved Nov. 6, 1678.

² Letter of Lord Leigh. *Papers*, No. 6.

December following his death. Pearce died about midsummer, and thus a clear six months elapsed of which we have no account. To this must be added at least three months more, for the following reason: The succeeding Schoolmaster claimed a sum of three pounds, that is one quarter's salary, from Howkins, which should have been paid to Pearce; and we know that Pearce discontinued his work towards the end of his lifetime. For nine months then, at least, Rugby seems to have had no Schoolmaster in charge. It is possible that assistance of some sort was to be had, but there is no hint of it. A paragraph of the decree of 1653 provides, that "if the Trustees find the multitude of the scholars to be too great for one man's teaching, they are either themselves to find, or to enjoin the Schoolmaster to provide, an usher, and allow him such salary out of the overplus of the rents, which would otherwise come to the Master, as they think fit." Had there ever been an usher before? Had Pearce any kind of assistance, rendered by a curate or some other? We know nothing of it; but that does not prove that this was not the case. In Holyoake's time we first hear of ushers, but we hear of them by accident. No entry is made in the Trustees' Books when they are appointed or cease to act; and at the period of which we now speak there were no Trustees' Books even. Perhaps Howkins put in a man, or Boughton (as his father, Sir William, once tried to do,¹ and as the first Edward Boughton actually did); perhaps the nine score families

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 138, fol. 19 (Evidence of Perkins).

of Rugby stepped into the breach. But there is no hint anywhere, so far as I know, of any such thing. Nothing can be asserted, and we must wait for future light.

Fortunately here all uncertainty ends for ever. The next two appointments have, by a happy chance, been preserved among the papers of the Trust, where they lay until the other day unregarded. Both these interesting documents are printed in the Appendix.¹ The appointments are made by Thomas Lord Leigh, who claims to be the sole surviving feoffee of the Rugby Charity.

On December 4, 1651, Lord Leigh nominated and appointed his "well-beloved in Christ, Peter Whitehead, Schoolmaster of the said Free School." The wording of this should be noticed, because it has some importance. There is a mystery about Peter Whitehead. Was he a Master of Arts? Howkins roundly asserts that he was not, but that he was "proved a Proctor of the Civill Lawe at Leicester";² being therefore not qualified for a Schoolmaster according to the intent of the Founder; that he was not legally elected, Sir Thomas Leigh being only a son of the last surviving feoffee.³ To this Harrison, the legal representative of the Trust, replies that he "was and is lawfully elected and established Schoolemaster of the ffree Schoole of Lawrence Sheriffe, by lawfull authority as hee ought to be by Sir Thomas Leigh, *the surviving ffeoffee* as by the

¹ Below, Appendix III. c.

² *Trust Papers*, No. 80, fol. 24.

³ *Trust Papers*, No. 138, fol. 4, and elsewhere.

aforesaid Inquisition is found"; that he "conceives and believes" Whitehead to have been "a very fitt man for the said Employment." But the cautious lawyer does not say Whitehead was a Master of Arts, only that no evidence had been brought to the contrary.¹ When we observe that Lord Leigh does not call his nominee *Mr.* Whitehead, as he does call the next appointed,² we begin to suspect that Howkins had some truth. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge knows Peter Whitehead as a Master of Arts, or in any other capacity; and this practically settles the question. We must take it that, on the evidence, Whitehead was not a Master of Arts.

But it by no means follows that Whitehead was not a fit person for the post. Even by the Founder's intent it was not absolutely necessary that the Schoolmaster should be a Master of Arts. Richard Seale and Wilgent Greene are only recorded to have taken the Bachelor's degree; and at this time the one thing needful was to settle the lawsuit for ever. Under these circumstances, it is impossible not to suspect that Whitehead was put in by Lord Leigh as a hard-headed man of business, who would be likely to see the case well through the court. For, it must be remembered, the Schoolmaster and almsmen always appear on the one part as against the exceptants. They were, of course, represented by a lawyer; but the case of Greene, not to mention Pearce, is enough to show that the Schoolmaster was an important figure in the affair. Whitehead may have actually been a lawyer, as asserted by Howkins.

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 80, fol. 24.

² Below, Appendix III. d.

The supposition is confirmed by his shrewdness in dealing with Howkins. The other Masters took what they could get, and were truly thankful; Whitehead absolutely refuses to give a receipt for any payment, without adding a proviso, that this should not prejudice a certain quarter's salary which had not been paid to Pearce.¹ This, it would seem, Howkins kept back, on pretence that Pearce had died before the quarter-day. Whether the pretence were true or not (and it probably was not true²), the money was not the tenant's to keep, but belonged to the Trust. Whitehead may or may not have been a Master of Arts, but he held the Mastership for nine years; and of that period Sir Thomas Leigh writes, "I never heard but that Mr. Whitehead was very diligent and painfull in the Schoole."³ He resigned in 1660,⁴ and so passes out of this history. He must have died soon after, for we find a receipt from his relict, Frances Whitehead, for arrears, dated Oct. 20, 1665.⁵ Mrs. Whitehead, like Mrs. Pearce, could not write her name; but education is clearly advancing, for she signs two immense and weedy initials. The remainder of the name is written by Mary Whitehead, who is also a witness, in one document;⁶ in others the friendly hand is absent, and the Schoolmaster's wife has frankly to make "her mark."⁷

¹ *Trust Papers*, No. 138: Brief, fol. 19.

² See p. 68; and Harrison's answers deny it.

³ Original letter of T. L. to Mr. Blunt: *Trust Papers*, No. 51 B.

⁴ Same letter.

⁵ *Trust Papers*, No. 51 C.

⁶ *Trust Papers*, No. 137 (1668).

⁷ *Trust Papers*, No. 157, dated Aug. 3, 1670. In No. 151, dated 1668, John Allen signs as witness.

On the resignation of Peter Whitehead, Lord Leigh promptly appointed John Allen to succeed him.¹ I have not been able to identify John Allen with one of the numerous persons who appear by that name on the University books. Of him as a Schoolmaster we know nothing; but of the School and the general management of the Charity from this time we have more full information.

The decree conveying the decision of 1653 laid down exact directions for the management of the property, similar to those of previous decrees, which we have already described. The income of the Charity was to be spent at the discretion of the Trustees, and consequently they were henceforward responsible for any misuse. During the fourteen years between 1653 and 1667 these regulations must have been neglected. Lord Leigh's appointment of John Allen, in which he calls himself "the surviving feoffee" of Rugby School, is sufficient to prove that he did not act in concert with the others, perhaps did not acknowledge them; and that there were others, the first page of the *Trustees' Books* is evidence. That page is signed by five, who call themselves "the survivors" of the body, as appointed, I presume, in 1653. There is no evidence that the Trustees had held the quarterly

¹ Resignation, Oct. 19: Letter of Lord Leigh, *Trust Papers*, No. 51 B. Appointment, Oct. 13: Paper not numbered (now enclosed in white envelope). The latter is a certified copy, and must be correct. The letter was doubtless written in 1668, just before the receipt No. 151, which acknowledges a payment demanded in the letter; thus the writer's memory probably misled him in placing the appointment of one before the resignation of the other.

meetings, and in all probability they held very few.¹ What moneys were paid in by the various tenants were received by the Master, and some part of them he continued to receive until a Clerk was appointed² in 1668. Whether the Master paid the almsmen, we can only guess; but he was doubtless responsible for repairs, and the anticipation of good things to come led Whitehead to launch out in this direction as early as 1652.³ But in 1667, when the suit ended for good and all, the Trustees pulled themselves together and turned over a new leaf. They met in Rugby in the autumn of that year, and continued to meet quarterly for sixty-three years before their ardour began to cool. The attendance is fairly good at these meetings, though the whole body is rarely if ever present. Shortly after the first meeting, a chest was bought to contain all documents relating to the Trust (as had been directed by Chancery fifty years before), and a Clerk (Edmund Bromwich) appointed to receive and account for moneys, and to represent the Trust. The accounts and orders are set down in the books from this time without intermission. The Trustees' meetings at this time appear to have been held in the School-house; the Master entertained them and received five shillings for the expenses of each meeting.

¹ The only evidence for meetings is a payment of one pound to Allen for "four meetings of the former feoffees," Aug. 4, 1668.

² *Trustees Books*, Oct. 10, 1667: John Allen to receive the rents of Conduit Close until further order.

³ Bill for hair, lime, glazing school windows, and work, May 15, 1652. (*Papers*; not numbered.)

The Trustees also busied themselves in seeing to the good government of the School. They drew up a scheme of rules, which was copied out on vellum, framed, and posted up in the School.¹ These probably did little more than codify and enforce existing practice, and must have had to do with general behaviour rather than with matters scholastic. One of the rules (the only one known to us) was that the almsmen were to attend prayers at the School, morning and evening, in their gowns. We are to understand that the almsmen, judging from past laxities, were less punctual in obeying this than might be desired. Accordingly, a few years later² a sharp lesson was administered to them, their quarter's salary being declared forfeit "for their neglect in observing the order of resorting to the Schoole to heare prayers." The fright was considered sufficient, however, and at the next meeting the forfeited money was returned. The almsmen appear to have been quite exemplary after this fright, for only one other entry occurs in the books regarding the attendance at prayers. This was in 1707, when George Webb, "having been absent two mornings and ffive evenings from prayers this last Quarter, is ffined ffour pence half-penny according to the Orders."³ The terms of this order will show that the interpretation was strict: the fine would seem to have been a penny for morning

¹ *Trustees' Books*, Nov. 4, 1673. *Old Vouchers*, 1749: "For a frame for y^e Orders of y^e School, 0-2^s-6^d. One skin of parchment, 0-1-6. Engrossing the Orders of y^e School, 0-6-0."

² *Trustees' Books*: Order of August 4, 1674.

³ *Trustees' Books*: Order of May 6, 1707

prayers, and a halfpenny for the evening. When the almsmen discontinued attending prayers is not known; but they used to take part in Speech Day proceedings until the middle of the present century, since when all direct connection of the almsmen with the School has ceased.

One remarkable paragraph in the abstract of proceedings printed in the Appendix¹ has been already noticed. By this the Trustees were authorised, if they found that "the multitude of the scholars was too great for one man's teaching," to pay for an usher, or to allow the Master money to pay one. We have seen that even in its darkest days, when the Master had not bread for his family, Rugby boys were not unknown at the Universities. During the years that had since elapsed, things looked so much brighter, that we may believe the School was already beginning to grow. No entry in the books records the appointment of an usher for many years, but it is not improbable (as we shall see) that one was appointed by the Master on his own account, before we first hear of them under Holyoake. The right of appointing assistant masters remained with the Trustees, though they delegated the practical exercise of it to the Master. In this Rugby differs from many other schools, and the facts here given explain why.

Immediately after the final order of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, money began to come in. The receipts in August 1668 amounted to £250. 6s. 8d., but of course a great deal of this was already due. There were outstand-

¹ Page 74.

ing lawyers' bills (portentously long bills, which still exist), and the Trust was besieged by widows of previous Masters who claimed arrears to a considerable amount. Mrs. Pearce and Mrs. Whitehead, to our great relief, have their husbands' salaries paid by degrees, and in 1670 all is paid up. But the Howkinses were still refractory, and refused to give possession of the property. Consequently, William Howkins was prosecuted, and thrown into prison, whence he was not released until he paid £100 and gave security for £127 more.¹ The income being now regular, so are the allowances; from the year 1668 Mr. Allen receives £15 a year, and the almsmen in proportion. The Master arranged for repairs at his own discretion, and was repaid by the Trustees; until a rather long bill caused them to forbid any work to be done about the buildings without their order.² Thus we have the Schoolmaster in the enjoyment of a regular if modest competence, and the School gathering strength for new efforts which were before long to bring it fame.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

It is impossible to pass over the name of John Singleton, though it is impossible with the light we have to find him a place. The only evidence for any connection with Rugby School is a passage quoted by Bloxam,³ from Pike's *Ancient Meeting Houses in Old*

¹ *Trustees' Books*, May 3, 1670.

² Nov. 4, 1673.

³ *Rugby*, p. 39. I take from the same place the quotation out of Wilson. I have been unable to verify the references.

London, where he is called the "ejected Head Master of Rugby School." As an ejected Schoolmaster he would be by no means unique in Rugby; but it is difficult to see where he could come in. The gap between Pearce and Whitehead calls aloud for Singleton to walk into it; but, unluckily, Singleton did not enter at Oxford until three years later.¹ Calamy, in his *Nonconformist Memorials*,² says that he was ejected from *Brasenose* in 1660, and went into Warwickshire, where he lived with his wife's brother, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, a physician. He seems to have had a genius for being ejected, which would naturally attract him to Rugby; and it is just possible he occupied the place for a short time between Whitehead and Allen. The inhabitants of Rugby perhaps knew of him from Dr. Timothy Gibbons, the physician, and placed him in charge like Clerke, only to meet the same fate. Lord Leigh's date for Whitehead's resignation is obviously wrong, and there may have been a gap here. On the other hand, we know of none, nor is the thing likely, since Whitehead resigned; and as there is no such evidence for Singleton as there is for Clerke, it is best not to place him in the list of Masters. He would probably have been a welcome acquisition to Rugby; for he is spoken of as famous for classical learning, and as having great skill in the education of youth.³ That worthy physician, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, would seem to have had some influence over Singleton, for Singleton studied physic at Leyden, in Holland.⁴

Bloxam's suggestion that he was appointed to Rugby in 1660, and left it under the Act of Uniformity in 1662, is ingenious, but is now seen to be impossible. During these years Allen was in possession.

¹ Servitor of Christ Church; matriculated October 18, 1654 (age not stated); B.A., December 1655; M.A., June 15, 1658.

² i. 217.

³ Wilson, *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London*.

⁴ *Alumni Oxonienses*.

V

THE CASE IS ALTERED

KNIGHTLEY HARRISON, M.A., 1670-1675—ROBERT ASHBRIDGE,
M.A., 1675-1681—LEONARD JEACOCKS, M.A., 1681-1688
—HENRY HOLYOAKE, M.A., 1688-1731.

THE period of danger was now over at last, and the history of the School from this time is one of almost continuous growth. Foreseeing that its importance must increase now that the income was secure, and moreover was greater than ever before,¹ the Trustees thought fit to exact from the Schoolmaster, on appointment, a security in £500; to be forfeited if the Master refused to obey the orders of the Trustees, or to give up the School at three months' notice from the major part of the Trustees.² This security was first asked in the case of Knightley Harrison.³ This, the first Master appointed since the conclusion of the lawsuit, succeeded John Allen on his death early in 1670.

¹ The details are as follows, though a year or two passed before Howkins began to pay :—Conduit Close (Mr. Blunt) : £20 per annum. Brownsover property (William Howkins) : £18 per annum. Brownsover, in lieu of tithes (Mr. Pettever, on behalf of Sir Edward Boughton) : £28. 17s. 6d.—Total, £66. 17s. 6d.

² Does this suggest that any previous Master had been contumacious in this respect ?

³ His original bond, and some others, are among the *Trust Papers*.

Knichtley Harrison¹ was at that time a man of middle age, having taken his M.A. at the University of Cambridge in 1641. He was a son of Mr. John Harrison, sometime Rector of Yelvertoft, and had spent one year in Rugby School under Greene (1631–32). He is thus the first old Rugbeian who is recorded to have become Master, unless Edward Clerke was one.

In Harrison's first year his salary amounted to about thirty-four pounds, and it seems to have increased later to about forty pounds.² A good deal of money is spent in repairs of the School, Schoolhouse, and buildings; sometimes as much as ten guineas at one meeting. This is significant as showing the ruinous state of the buildings. We must remember that it was more than the Master received for his whole salary.

In 1675 Mr. Harrison resigned his post, and the Trustees appointed Robert Ashbridge, M.A., a Cumberland man, from Queen's College, Oxford.³ His Mastership marks an epoch in the history of the School, for immediately upon his appointment he began the School Register.⁴ From the first entries we see clearly a fact of which there have already been indications, that the School was not

¹ Matriculated as a pensioner at Sidney Sussex, December 13, 1634, age 16 (see p. 59); proceeded A.B. 1637, A.M. 1641. Appointed to Rugby, May 3, 1670 (see Appendix). No other of the name appears on the University books.

² See *Trustees' Books*, November 4, 1673, and onwards.

³ Matriculated (*plebeius*) 1668, aged 17; B.A. 1668, M.A. 1671/2. —*Alumni Oxonienses*.

⁴ Published by A. J. Lawrence, Rugby, 1881–1891; 3 volumes. The earliest volume contains a great many errors, and a new edition is desirable.

merely or chiefly a free school for the boys of the neighbourhood. The names are arranged in two columns, foundationers and non-foundationers being kept apart. Of the twenty-six boys entered in 1675, nearly half lived at a distance from Rugby, and were not foundationers. One of them is a Vaux, of a well-known family of Cumberland, and so we may suppose that Ashbridge was not without honour in his own country. Many of those admitted under Ashbridge bear names well known in the neighbourhood, such as Dixwell, Pettiver, Boughton, Shuckburgh, Cave, Caldecott. One of these, James Pettiver, became a distinguished naturalist;¹ and another, Ambrose Cave (son of Sir Thomas Cave, of Stomford Hall, Leicestershire), was afterwards a brigadier in the Life Guards.

These boys, as has been pointed out already, must have boarded with the Master; in this matter we are fortunately not left at the mercy of a guess. Ashbridge had not been a year in the School when he saw the necessity of more accommodation for the increasing numbers. The Schoolhouse was probably too shaky to make any addition there convenient, and in consequence another storey was added over the School.² At least two chambers were built, and probably not more than two. Small dormitories or cubicles are a modern fashion; and were it not for direct evidence, we should suppose the addition to have been one large room. In any case, there was no

¹ Bloxam's *Rugby*, p. 41.

² Order of May 20, 1676. See Appendix.

reason for building a number of small chambers, and every reason against it. Perhaps one of these rooms was used for a playroom or workroom by the boys, as we shall see later done in the new school buildings. At this period the roof of the School was tiled,¹ though previously it had been thatched, like the house. At the same time, repairs of all sorts went on. New floors were put in the School and Schoolhouse hall;² the barn was thatched,³ and some of the walls⁴ (which must therefore have been mud-walls, such as are still seen in the neighbourhood); doors and windows were put in, timbered, or glazed;⁵ locks were added;⁶ the pump and the coalhouse were put in order.⁷ A new desk was put up in the School for the Master's use.⁸

From all this activity it is clear that the School and all concerned in it were becoming more efficient, and the good intent of the religious Founder was in a way to be more fully realised.

In the autumn of 1681 Ashbridge resigned, and his place was taken by Leonard Jeacock or Jeacocks, M.A., of New Inn Hall, Oxford.⁷ During his six years of tenure

¹ See *Trustees' Books*, August 1, 1682. That the School was tiled is proved by the "estimate" for pulling it down.

² *Trustees' Books*, Feb. 5, 1677/8.

³ May 7, 1678.

⁴ Feb. 6, 1676/7; Nov. 6, 1677; Aug. 7, 1678, &c.

⁵ May 1, 1677; Aug. 7, 1678, &c.

⁶ Nov. 4, 1679.

⁷ Matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, March 24, 1670/1, *pleb.*, aged 16; B.A. from New Inn Hall, 1674; M.A. 1677; appointed to Rugby, Aug. 2, 1681. The name is Jeacocke in the *Trustees' Books*, but it is given in the *Alumni* as Jeacockes, and in a deed preserved in Rugby School Museum he signs Jeacockes.

the School seems to have fallen off. It is true, boys continue to come from a distance, and the sons or kindred of some of the Trustees are sent to the School; but there are only three entries in 1683 and 1684 together, while the two years following have none at all. The only event of importance to the School which occurred during Jeacocks' time was a lease of the Conduit Close property assigned for fifty-one years to Dr. Nicholas Barbon.¹ The new tenant was to pay a large advance on the former rent, and to lay out a thousand pounds in building upon the land. At the same time a partition was made of the Close, so that a certain definite portion might be set apart for the School; previously the School was entitled to one-third, but which third was not specified. This partition had actually been decreed in 1602, but never carried out. Henceforward Barbon paid a yearly rent of fifty pounds, until in 1695 he seems to have got into difficulties. The Master's income gradually rose to about fifty-six pounds.

On the death of Jeacocks in 1688, the Trustees appointed to succeed him Henry Holyoake, who was destined to make a name for Rugby School.² He came of a family of scholars.³ His father had a chequered career in Oxford as chaplain of his college, as captain of a company of foot in the civil wars, as physician, and as lexicographer. Francis Holyoake, the grandfather of Henry, was also a lexicographer; he, like his son, was a staunch

¹ *Trustees' Books*: Order of May 4, 1686. Indenture summarised in Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 42.

² *Trustees' Books*: Order of Feb. 7, 1687/8.

³ See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, and Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 44.

Royalist, and in the troubles his house was pillaged by the Parliament troops, who found arms in it. Henry Holyoake was a sturdy twig of this militant stock; and during the forty-three years of his Mastership, Rugby sensibly increased in numbers and prestige.

Holyoake received his early education in Magdalen College School, and afterwards entered the College,¹ rising finally to the post of chaplain. Owing to the arbitrary interference of James II., who ejected the President and a number of the Fellows, the rest of the Society, and Mr. Holyoake with them, left the College. When the Prince of Orange landed, James II. tried to atone for this injustice by reinstating those who had been expelled or had withdrawn, and amongst them is mentioned Holyoake. But meanwhile Holyoake had been elected to Rugby School, and there he chose to remain. He continued, however, to hold the chaplaincy two years longer, when he resigned from it. Holyoake was an incurable pluralist, and had already been Rector of Bourton upon Dunsmore.² Besides this, he accepted and held at various times the livings of Bilton³ and of Harborough,⁴ near Rugby; putting a curate in each, who (as we shall see) also helped him in the School.

With Holyoake's coming, the School began to increase

¹ Matriculated March 12, 1674, aged 17; B.A., Oct. 22, 1678; M.A., July 4, 1681; Clerk, 1676-81; Chaplain of Magdalen College, 1681-90.—*Mag. Coll. Registers*, i. 95, by R. R. Bloxam.

² Appointed 1678 (*Alumni Oxonienses*).

³ *Trustees' Books*: Order of Aug. 7, 1705.

⁴ *Trustees' Books*: Order of Aug. 3, 1712.

at once. It is, of course, possible that the *Register* was not duly filled in during the previous years, but there is nothing to prove it. Anyhow, in Holyoake's first year the number of entries is twenty-six, including two who were not foundationers. But the proportion soon changes, and for the whole number of boys entered during his tenure nearly four-fifths were not on the foundation. Quite a number of these were sons of the old Warwickshire and Northamptonshire families. Some of the Trustees sent their own sons, and many of those educated in the School became Trustees in their turn. In this way a school tradition was formed and fostered. Others of the boys grew up to achieve greatness, or to have greatness thrust upon them. A long list has been compiled¹ of noblemen and baronets who were educated at Rugby in this period, which has its use in showing that the School was in high repute. There were others, again, who distinguished themselves in Church or State, in the Army and Navy, and in the Colonies. Two who made a considerable figure in letters deserve a brief mention.²

Thomas Carte entered the School in 1695. He graduated at Cambridge, and, after a period of flight and proscription for his political opinions, settled down to literary work. He produced a voluminous *History of England*, two volumes of Historical Documents, a *Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, and other works of the same kind. But his fame, though solid, is perhaps eclipsed by

¹ Bloxam, *Rugby*, pp. 50-53.

² *Rugby Register*, i. 11, 15, and 12, notes; Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 49.

Edward Cave, a journalist, and the friend of Dr. Johnson, who wrote Cave's life. Holyoake was not without tact,¹ but there appears to have been a grievous misunderstanding between him and Cave, the result of which was that Cave left School under a cloud. Cave was the founder of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which still goes on, while younger and more pretentious prints fly past and disappear. Appropriately enough, it is in this magazine, nearly a century later, that we find the first historical sketch of Rugby School. Fame of another kind belongs to the Reverend William Paul, who was tried in Westminster Hall for complicity in the Rebellion of 1715, and ended his career at Tyburn by being hanged, drawn, and quartered. Another Rugbeian of this date, Charles Holt,² spent his life at Oxford, where he belonged to Magdalen College. He filled many of the University posts, amongst others those of University Lecturer in Moral Philosophy and in Natural Philosophy. He received the degree of D.C.L., and was buried in Magdalen College Chapel.

The respect felt for Mr. Holyoake's powers and character is shown not only by the number of boys sent him from a distance, but by other signs. He was presented, for one thing, to two livings in the neighbourhood of Rugby while he was Master, and the fact of his being allowed to hold them with the School shows the confidence which the Trustees felt in him. So also do the expressions used in their Orders concerning this matter. The

¹ See his letter in Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 52.

² *Magdalen College Registers*, vi. 140. Entered 1694.

praise given in the two Orders in question is almost unparalleled in the history of Rugby. Other Masters have done good service to the School, but never before had the Trustees thought fit to recognise such service by a formal resolution; and it never was done afterwards during any man's tenure of office, until the days of Arnold. They speak, on the first occasion, of their particular esteem for Mr. Holyoake, and approval of his labours, in "recovering the Credit and reputation of the Schoole," and hardly expect that such qualities as his will ever be seen in another Master.¹ They therefore suspend that Order by which no Master was allowed to have any other employment along with the School. The second occasion² brings out his character more clearly. Mr. Blake, who had married Holyoake's sister, was the previous incumbent, and had spent much money in repairing and rebuilding the chancel and the parsonage house. He had, moreover, lost money by the failure of a tenant who farmed his tithes. Holyoake accordingly undertook to hold the living in the interest of Mrs. Blake and her child, paying a curate to do the work, and giving over the rest of the income to the widow. This is hardly in accord with modern ideas on the subject of clerical duty, but the man must be judged by his own times. The plain fact is, he might have had the income without losing in the estimation of his world, and yet resigned it out of kindness. The same kindness is shown by his will,³ from

¹ *Trustees' Books*: Order of Aug. 7, 1705; printed in Appendix.

² Order of Aug. 8, 1712; printed in Appendix.

³ Printed by Bloxam, *Rugby*, pp. 53, 54.

which it appears that he kept a little cousin, Tommy Durnford,¹ for several years at the School at his own charges. He was of a quaint turn of mind, and perhaps the fanciful Latinising of his name, which he delighted to write *De Sacra Quercu*, is a sign of a salt of humour in him.

The number of boys in the School, if we estimate six years to a school generation, must have been little short of a hundred; and when Holyoake was in his prime, there were probably more. It is clear that one man could not have carried on the School alone, and there is evidence that Holyoake did not try. As we have already seen, the appointment of assistant masters was contemplated half a century before; and it is quite possible that there may have been such under previous Masters. It is true no appointments were made by the Trustees; but neither were any made by them under Holyoake. The Master provided them himself. When he was permitted to accept the rectory of Bilton, in 1705, he undertook to engage a curate who should take care of his scholars when he officiated there in person.² The curate can hardly have spent all the days of the week in visiting the parishioners of a tiny village, and we cannot doubt that he made himself useful in the School at times. Moreover, John Plomer, his successor, M.A. of Wadham, was one of Holyoake's ushers at some time between 1711 and 1717.³ Another was John Pinley or Pinlay, a Master of Arts of Balliol

¹ 1723-1731.

² See Order, Appendix.

³ See below.

College, Oxford, who also held his post for several years. In his will, Holyoake bequeaths him £200, and releases him from debts to the amount of £45. 12s., "in consideration of his service in my schoole." We may fairly assume that Hodgkinson, who did the Master's work between Holyoake and Plomer, was previously an usher in the School.

In this mastership the number of boarders must have taxed the accommodation to the utmost. We have already seen Ashbridge building two or more chambers over the big schoolroom; and although Holyoake seems to have built another storey,¹ it is more than doubtful whether even so there would have been room for all Holyoake's boarders in the school premises. We have no evidence that any were boarded out in the town, or with an assistant; but it is not unlikely. Plomer or Pinley, therefore, was probably the first House Master among the assistants. They were both married men,² and therefore must have had houses of their own. It is difficult to see where they lived, for Rugby was a small place, and there were few houses in it of any size; but they must have lived somewhere. Holyoake was unmarried, but his cousin, Judith Holyoake, kept house for him; and to her he left a legacy by his will, "as having been very serviceable in my house,

¹ *Trustees' Books*: Order of May 1, 1694—£53, 19s. 8d. is spent in "making new chambers over the School." This is three times the sum spent by Ashbridge eighteen years before, and points to an extensive plan. If rebuilding had been meant, the phrase must have been different.

² For Pinley, see Holyoake's will. Two sons of Plomer are entered in the *Register* under 1731.

and seemingly kind." Another relative, Elizabeth Story, also received acknowledgments for services of the same sort. What charge was made to the boarders we do not know, but Tommy Durnford's incidental expenses for six years amounted to about ten pounds. This, of course, does not include board and lodging; but a modern parent would not think it excessive for extras.

What with boarders, and what with livings, Holyoake's income must have been, for the times, not inconsiderable. His will shows him to have died possessed of some sixteen hundred pounds, not to mention outstanding "debts, dues, and demands." The salary paid by the Trustees was also increasing. In his first year he received upwards of fifty-six pounds, which by degrees grew to over seventy. At the same time the almsmen's pay was also increased, until they must have become the envied of all their peers. This was because, by the constitution of the Charity, after repairs and necessary expenses had been provided for, the income was to be divided in certain proportions between Master and almsmen.

The value of the property was growing fast. Barbon, who had taken the first building lease of the London lands,¹ failed to pay his rent for some years; but during the years 1702-5² arrears were paid up, and a new lease was granted to William Milman for sixty pounds, an increase of ten pounds over Barbon's. The Brownsover lands, again, now brought in twenty-eight pounds a year.³ But

¹ Above, p. 88.

² *Trustees' Books*, Aug. 4, 1702; Aug. 3, 1703, and later.

³ *Trustees' Books*, Order of Feb. 1, 1714/5.

the expenses for repairs were considerable, and show that the buildings were fast getting into such a state that no more could be done with them. Tilers and glaziers, masons and ironmongers, whiter and wallers and paviors, all claim their share. There is thatching and flooring to be done, new chambers to be made over the School, ceilings mended, walls built, a second barn¹ suddenly appears on the scene, and our old friend the pump is always with us. In one memorable quarter nearly forty pounds were spent in this way.² In the midst of this turmoil we perceive the hiring of a new garden,³ and the purchase of a house adjoining the School.⁴ The last was pulled down, and a wall built facing the street;⁵ and perhaps we may suppose that its site was used by the boys.

Under Holyoake the Speeches became an important function. We have seen that the Trustees visited the School four times a year, and were the guests of the Master. They came partly for the purpose of inspecting the School. The August meeting was always regarded as the most important of the four; and while the attendance of the Trustees was less regular on the other three days, they usually came in force for August. It was natural that this should be made the occasion for show-

¹ *Trustees' Books*, Aug. 1. 1693: "For repairing two barnes and two houses of office, 012. 10. 00."

² *Trustees' Books*, Aug. 2, 1726.

³ *Trustees' Books*, Nov. 6, 1705, and later; rented at 13s. 4d.

⁴ *Trustees' Books*, Feb. 3, 1719/20. It was a messuage called the Swan, and cost one hundred pounds.

⁵ *Trustees' Books*, Aug. 2, 1726.

ing off the boys, and this I conceive to have been the way in which the practice grew up at Rugby. The time of the year was altered afterwards to June; but this was not the case in Holyoake's day. Fifty years later we still find the first Tuesday in August kept as the Speech Day.¹ By a happy freak of fate, several of the pieces recited before the Trustees still survive. These are written in Latin and English, and though not faultless, have sufficient interest for Rugbeians to be worth printing. The earliest known² is a Latin composition *Patronorum Laudes*, partly in prose and partly in verse, signed Gulielmus Pettever. Pettever mentions each of the Trustees, ending with Richard Elborowe, elected in 1698. As the lad entered in 1690, we may follow Bloxam in assigning this exercise to 1699. A set of Latin hexameters, addressed *Ad Patronos*, alludes to

Moenia tot fidis valide suffulta columnis,

¹ See below, p. 119.

² This I only know of through a letter of Mr. Bloxam's in a Rugby paper of June 12, 1875, reprinted as a pamphlet. Another is signed "Ed. Wheler, July 28, 1722." A third, Mr. Bloxam notes, was scribbled on the back of an old play-bill, which shows that there was a "play-house" in Rugby at that early date:—

Being Desired
At the Play-House in Rugby,
This present Evening will be Acted a
Tragedy call'd
The Fair Penitent
With Entertainments
To begin exactly at 6 a-clock.

Vivat Rex!

The words in italics are filled in by hand on a printed form.

but whether these are the pillars of the schoolhouse porch, or the pillars of the scholastic state, is not made clear. A far more ambitious piece is the Eclogue of Thyrsis, Corydon, and Damoetas. Topical allusions seem to appear in it, and thankfulness is expressed by one of the shepherds that "we and our sheepfolds" have escaped a terrible plague which has been raging in the neighbourhood, and has carried off many victims. This "dire contagion" is mentioned in another piece of verse of respectable merit, written in English. We may fairly infer from the last named that some epidemic had caused a scare, and that a large number of boys had been kept back from School, or left altogether :—

The lonely Shepherd moan'd the desert shade
When half his flock to distant pastures stray'd,
Careful of life, with weakling fears dismay'd.

But by the time this speech was delivered—

Thanks to Heav'n, the threat'ning danger past,
Safe is our flock, and all return'd at last.

In the same hand as the last is *The Happy Nuptials*, which was written as a dialogue in verse between three persons. The piece celebrates the wedding of Miss Tilney and Lord Craven, a Trustee of the School, and an old Rugbeian, having entered in 1703. The date of this was probably about 1724, for we have a complement in another of these compositions dated 1725.¹ This ambitious but dull *Hymn to Diana* is made in

¹ From a MS. book in the possession of C. L. Lockton, Esq. See the *Laurentian*, No. 2.

honour of the birth of a daughter to Lord Craven. Rugby School must have been a place of great importance when Diana is confidently summoned thither from Delos. But in spite of all prayers to various heathen deities, no son came to Lord Craven, and his brother afterwards inherited the title.

Of these celebrations we know no more, except from a brief notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1809,¹ part of which has been already quoted. The time referred to is a few years after Holyoake's death. "On the anniversary," says Mr. Urban's correspondent, "which was in the summer, the School was strewn with rushes, the Trustees attended, and speeches were made by several of the boys, some in Latin and some in English." The custom of strewing rushes on the floor is familiar in earlier centuries, but it is most unlikely that such a thing can have originated in the eighteenth. It is most reasonable to regard this as a survival of an old tradition; and if so, there may have been Speech Days of a sort much earlier in the history of the School. The almsmen of Lawrence Sheriffe also had to appear on the Gala Day, as they long continued to do, dressed in their grey gowns, and holding long staves in their hands.

One last service that Holyoake did to the School remains to be mentioned. He was, as we might expect from his parentage, a man of literary tastes, and had collected a library. This he bequeathed to the School; and a great benefit the books must have been in an age when books

¹ Above, p. 33.

were expensive. The books were preserved thenceforward by each successive Head-master. When the new schools were built, they were placed together in the Clock Tower, where they remained until about the year 1850. Since then they have disappeared, no man knows how or whither.¹ Some are said to be still among the books of the School Library, but there cannot be many there.

¹ Bloxam, p. 99.

VI

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL

JOHN PLOMER, M.A., 1731-1742—THOMAS CROSSFIELD, M.A.,
1742-1744—WILLIAM KNAIL, M.A., 1744-1751—JOSEPH
RICHMOND, M.A., 1751-1755—STANLEY BURROUGH, M.A.,
1755-1778.

EARLY in 1731 Henry Holyoake died, and was buried in Warwick. A short interregnum ensued, and for a few months the Master's duties were performed by Joseph Hodgkinson, who was himself educated at the School,¹ and doubtless was at the time an assistant master. On August 3 the Trustees elected into the vacant place John Plomer,² also an old Rugbeian.³ Plomer had served several years as an Usher under Holyoake, and so well had he behaved himself in that office that the Trustees dispensed with a standing order for him, as for his predecessor, and allowed him to hold a living with the School. He accordingly took the living of Bilton, which Holyoake

¹ Entered 1709.

² John Plomer, of Stone, Bucks., *pleb.*, Wadham College. Subscribed June 1, 1704, aged 16; scholar, 1705; B.A., Feb. 13, 1707/8; M.A., 1711; Vicar of Culworth, Northamptonshire, 1717-31; Rector of Bilton, 1731-59.—*Alumni Oxonienses*.

³ Entered 1699.

had held before him. The position must have had attractions, for Plomer resigned the valuable living of Culworth in order to come to Rugby, but no doubt affection for his old school had something to do with it. His work as Usher probably lies between 1711, when he took his Master's degree, and 1717, when he went to Culworth.

One of the first things Plomer did was to set apart some place for housing Holyoake's library, and this small beginning of greater things is so significant that the Order relating to it is printed in the Appendix.¹ The study was fitted with shelves, and a lock put on the door. Books which Holyoake had lent out were to be called in, and no doubt regulations were made by the Master for use and custody. We shall see evidence later that these books continued in use.

Plomer may have behaved himself well as an Usher, but as a Head-master he was not a success. We have no clue to the cause, but the School went down in numbers very considerably during his eleven years of office. Non-foundationers continue to come, it is true, and some are of good social standing; but it does not appear that any of them distinguished themselves greatly in after life, and the numbers decreased gradually. Plomer was probably a man of weak initiative; for not only did the numbers go down, but nothing seems to have been done to improve the School while he held it. The Trustees during the same period seem to have lost their interest in the place, and for the first time since 1667 they began sys-

¹ Appendix III. A, under date Aug. 8, 1731.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 103

tematically to neglect the meetings. Only in August do they attend as a body ; at the other three meetings all business is managed by Mr. Towers, Rector of Rugby, who was one of the board, and he alone signs the book. When at length the Trustees grew vigilant, Towers thought he deserved a holiday, and so left them on a few occasions to get on without him : whereupon the Trustees (who were evidently not without a sense of humour) promptly passed a vote of censure upon Mr. Towers, and desired him either to attend the meetings or relinquish his trust.¹ Towers, I rejoice to add, rose to the occasion, and continued a Trustee until he attained a green old age.

Plomer's salary remained much the same as in previous years. He received each quarter £15. 16s. 8d., with a share of the extra income. In all, he received something like seventy to seventy-three pounds as his year's stipend.

On May 4, 1742, Plomer resigned from his post ;² and on the same day was elected a man of most brilliant promise, Thomas Crossfield.³

Young as he was, Crossfield came to Rugby with a great reputation for power and scholarship. He had already been master of two other schools, of Daventry, near Rugby, and of Preston Capes. The eloquent epitaph written upon him by William Knail, his suc-

¹ *Trustees' Books* : Order of Aug. 4, 1747.

² Order of that date, signed in autograph.

³ Son of John Crossfield, of Kendal, Westmoreland, *plebeius*. Matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford, Oct. 17, 1729, aged 21 ; B.A. 1733 ; M.A. 1736.

cessor, is probably truer than such things usually are. He is there described as marvellously gifted by nature for the difficult task of teaching and administration, and trained in the same by experience. A simplicity of manners worthy of the old days, a singular modesty and lack of self-seeking or greed, a devotion to the welfare of others, make up this picture at once noble and rare.

Crossfield's first year augured well for the future. He came, in truth, *splendidae dux coloniae*, as Knail puts it. No less than fifty-three new boys entered in 1742, and only two of them were foundationers. The others came not only from Warwick and Northamptonshire, but from Surrey, Gloucestershire, Cheshire, Buckinghamshire, and London. This must have made a great difference to the Master's income; and where he housed them all, we can only guess. Amongst these were some who proceeded to the Universities in the usual course, and one at least who gained a lasting reputation. This was John Parkhurst, who was afterwards Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and author of Hebrew and Greek lexicons. In the following year entered Thomas Skipwith, afterwards fourth Baronet, and the ninth Earl of Kincardine.

There is little of interest to be said of the next two years. Mr. Towers and Mr. Crossfield are directed on one occasion¹ to inspect the books belonging to the School, to dispose of such part of them as should be thought useless, and to buy others more useful in their place. Large sums continue to be spent in repairing the

¹ *Trustees' Books* : Order of Aug. 4, 1743.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 105

ruinous buildings; in one quarter as much as twenty-five pounds at once.

Crossfield began his work with high hopes, which were soon dashed to the ground. The bud came never to flower, for in two years he was dead. It is idle to speculate on what might have been; but had Crossfield lived, he had it in him to anticipate the fame of James or of Arnold, and he perhaps might have gone down to posterity as one of the great names of Rugby.

The next Master was William Knail, M.A., also of Queen's College, Oxford,¹ who was appointed on August 17, 1744.² Knail and Crossfield had been at the same college together, and were fast friends. The first thing Knail did was to write a fine epitaph for his dead friend, which was engraved on his monument. Mrs. Crossfield continued to live in the Schoolhouse, where she assisted in the management. There we still find her³ during the arrangements for removing the School, but whether she remained long after Knail's departure is not known.

On the election of Crossfield an important resolution was made by the Trustees.⁴ This was to lay up as a reserve fund the surplus income of the Charity, which had hitherto been divided proportionably between Master and

¹ Of Whitehaven, Cumberland, *pleb.* Queen's College: matriculated Mar. 24, 1728/9, age 16; B.A. 1734; M.A. 1737; Fellow, 1751; B.D. 1759; D.D. 1762.—*Alumni Oxonienses.*

² *Trustees' Books* of that date. His bond for £500 is preserved among the *Papers*.

³ *Vouchers*, 1746-66; several bills of 1750 and 1752.

⁴ *Trustees' Books*: Order of May 4, 1742.

almsmen. The fund was to be applied, as the Trustees from time to time should think proper, for the "repairs and improvement of the premises belonging to the School." It has been pointed out already that the buildings were not likely to last much longer, and it must have been about this time that a change of premises began to be talked of.

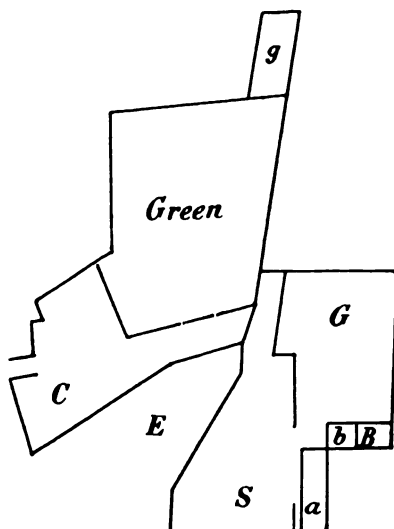
An architect, Mr. Hiorn,¹ was employed to survey the premises, which he did on March 1, 1748, and again in 1751.² He found them to be in a ruinous condition. The roof could not be repaired by any means; and if it should be taken off, the walls were expected at once to fall in. Thus either a new structure must be built up on the same site, or one must be bought or built elsewhere.

Not far from the Mansion House of Lawrence Sheriffe had been lately built a "large and convenient house," looking out on the market-place, the same now inhabited by Mr. C. F. Harris, the Clerk to the Trust. It is a large building of red brick, with Corinthian pilasters, and has an air of solid respectability which should win the heart of any parent. One might feel sure that within those walls no doctrine pernicious to Church or State could ever be so much as mentioned. Why the negotiations for purchase of this eminently desirable site came to nothing, we do not know; but the fact remains, that the house was not purchased. This was fortunate, for the

¹ Report given in Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 63. I have not been able to find the original, but a letter of Hiorn's in the *Old Vouchers* (1750) confirms the report in part.

² Letter, see below.

house finally pitched upon was outside the town; and whereas near the market-place there was no room for expansion in case the School should grow, the site chosen



PLAN OF THE OLD SCHOOL PREMISES AND ADJOINING PROPERTIES,
MADE ABOUT 1749.¹

a Alms House; *b* Brewhouse; *B* Mr. Boughton's; *G* School Garden; *E* Everdon's Boundereys; *S* Front of y^e School and Garden; *C* Mrs. Crofts, Front of her House; *Green* Mrs. Crofts; *g* Garden, Mrs. Crofts.

was then bounded by fields, many of which were one by one added to the Close or covered with buildings.

¹ *Trust Papers*. *C* faces the Market Place; *S* faces the Church. Mr. Bloxam has a less accurate copy of this plan or a duplicate (*Rugby*, p. 61); he states that the area of the School premises was 1 rood 30 poles.

But the difficulty was where to raise money. The London property was let out on building lease, which had still many years to run; and the choice seemed to be between selling a portion of this, or raising the money by a mortgage of it. Sir Thomas Cave¹ was at that time one of the Trustees, and he used his influence to get a Bill through the House of Commons authorising the Trustees to act. In 1748 the Bill passed, and it contains a good deal of information about the School. The whole income of the Foundation, as appears from that document, amounted, in ordinary years, to £116. 17s. 6d., of which the Master received £63. 6s. 8d. as his salary, half the same sum went to the doles of the almsmen, and the balance of something more than £20 was all that was available for keeping the school buildings in repair, together with the chancel of Brownsover Church, and paying for the almsmen's gowns. The Act also informs us that the School "had for many years been in great repute, and had been of public utility."

This Act empowered the Trustees to raise £1800 by mortgage of not more than two-thirds of the Conduit Close share; for most fortunately it had been decided not to ask leave to sell. Of this sum, £1000 was spent in buying the old Mansion House of Rugby, then standing on the site of the present Schoolhouse. The aspect of the front of this tenement may be seen in the frontispiece, and its back in the illustration given opposite, which is taken from a contemporary drawing by Mr.

¹ See Bloxam's *Rugby*, pp. 57 ff.



THE SECOND SCHOOLHOUSE OF RUGBY.

(*"Memorials of Rugby."*)

To face page 108.

[REDACTED]

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 109

Pretty, who, at the end of the eighteenth century, was drawing-master. It has the appearance of having been built, or at least altered, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The house consisted of a main building and two wings, joined by a long corridor,¹ and surmounted by steep gables and a tiled roof. From the front the gables do not appear, because in the Georgian era the front of the house had been altered. Considerable alterations were made to prepare the house for its new purpose; but these consisted of fittings and additions, and the original plan was not otherwise interfered with. In this, as in the old Schoolhouse, were two parlours and a study on the ground floor, opening out of an entrance hall. Kitchen, scullery, pantry, laundry, dairy, and brew-house also appear on this floor, some inside the house and some outside. On the upper floor were bedrooms, and rooms for the boys were also made, or existed before, over kitchen and scullery. One room was set apart for the men-servants, and one for the maids. Mrs. Crossfield had a room of her own, skirted with deal wainscot, and called the Green Room. Underneath were cellars and vaults, and above all a few garrets. Storerooms were set apart for cheese, apples, and other such provisions. One of the wings was used for almshouses until the new block was built; and afterwards served for the Writing and French Schools. There were a number of out-houses besides these, such as a kiln and stables; these two were pulled down,

¹ Details not to be deduced from the drawings are taken from the *Old Vouchers*.

and new stables were built. Adjoining the house was a garden, which, with some fields and farm buildings, dwelling-house and barns, all passed into the possession of the Trustees. And now, for the first time in the history of Rugby School, we find mention of a "play place," for which a tithe is paid in 1752 and onwards. Hitherto every boy had played where it seemed right in his own eyes, and the place where it was usual to play was none other than the churchyard.

On the west side of the Schoolhouse the new School was built, on the site of the present Schoolhouse Hall. The work was superintended by a local builder, named Johnson, and we need not be surprised to find that he copied the plan of the old School quite closely. It was a long and lofty room, like the first, with two chambers above it. Even the small lean-to visible under the new School was copied from the old. The dimensions in both appear to have been much the same, and the only new feature was a semi-circular apse on the side of the Close, with a large window below and a bull's eye above.

Within this apse was the Master's throne, from which his eagle eye could scan the various classes at their work. For it is needless to remind my readers that at that period the ideal system was to keep all classes together in one room. The din naturally resulting was believed to have blessings that far outweighed its disadvantages. This system is still defended by some as a valuable lesson in concentration. The Big School had an oak wainscot, and had fixed seats and tables for the boys. At the west

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 111

side of the Schoolroom was a Doric portico, of which a picture has been preserved. The doors that closed this sacred gate were only opened once in the year, when the Trustees met. Over the north end of the Big School was a clock tower, which the workmen called a "Cupuloe." Of the two chambers over the Big School, the larger was the chief dormitory, looking out upon the Close, and used to be called Paradise. The appearance of the great trees made a happy scene, which recalled the idyllic days of our first parents; but it is to be feared that the scenes within more often suggested Pandemonium. The other room was known as Over-School, and was used as a trunk-room.¹ Some of the rooms in the dwelling-house were used as schools, and in one of them the writing-master held his court.

Such was the second Big School of Rugby; and no sooner was it made ready than the boys migrated thither from the old place. This happened in 1750, and the old School, which had seen so troublous days, and weathered so many storms, was immediately pulled down.² With it depart into the past many memories of the Boughtons and the Howkinses, the Seales and the Pearces, which had made its history picturesque. The scene of Holyoake's strenuous service, and of Crossfield's bright promise, was no more. But the Master and his household seem to have remained for some time in the old house, and for a year or two more the workmen continue their savings

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 349.

² *Old Vouchers*, 1750.

and paintings in the new place. Finally the School-house built by Lawrence Sheriffe was deserted like the rest. It was let for a few years longer, and then finally pulled down about the year 1783.¹ Thus broke the last link connecting Rugby School with the person of the Founder.

Of Mr. Knail, who was Master while these changes were going on, we know little. One of his old pupils, whom Bloxam² identifies not improbably with the antiquary William Bray, wrote a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*³ which speaks of him. Although part of this letter has already been given,⁴ it is worth while quoting as a whole the part relating to the writer's school-days.

The original schoolroom at Rugby, in which I received the first part of my education, under Dr. Knail, was a long, rather lofty room, built with timber, opposite the Church. The house was very indifferent. I have said many a lesson in a small room, into which the Doctor occasionally called some boys, and in which he smoked many a pipe, the fragrance of which was abundantly retained in the blue cloth hangings with which it was fitted up. On the anniversary, which was in the summer, the School was strewed with rushes, the Trustees attended, and speeches were made by some of the boys, some in Latin, some in English. When this was pulled down, and a new one built, I was one of the class which said the first lesson in it. The rushes and the speeches were continued. . . . The general number of the scholars in my time was, I think, under seventy. . . . I do

¹ *History of Rugby*, p. 113.

² Sept. 1809, p. 799.

³ *Rugby*, p. 62.

⁴ Above, pp. 33 and 99.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 118

not recollect any playground belonging to the old School; but there was a piece of ground beyond the churchyard, sometimes used by them. There were several almsmen, who used to attend prayers in blue gowns.

Several of Knail's pupils became men of mark in the world. William Bray, supposed to be the writer of the above letter to Sylvanus Urban, entered the School in 1746, and we learn through his experiences that Rugby had then no regular bookseller. Books had to be procured from Daventry or other of the neighbouring towns, unless they happened to be found on the stall of a woman hawker who appeared in Rugby on market days. Bray wrote the greater part of the *History of Surrey*, and was a prominent member of the Antiquarian Society.¹ He lived to a great age, and died in 1832. It is much to be regretted that he did not write reminiscences of his school-days, before he departed and was no more seen. Sir Thomas Cave,² another pupil of Knail's, was afterwards a Trustee of the School, and did the School excellent service in the parliamentary proceedings. A third was John Mansel,³ who rose to be Major-General in the Dragoon Guards. In the Duke of York's campaign in 1794 he was stung into a brilliant feat of arms. Some imputation had been put upon him, which he determined to wipe out; and accordingly in an action on April 25 of that year he devoted himself to death like a modern Decius. The troops under his command seemed invincible; and

¹ *Rugby School Register*, vol. i. p. 34.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

³ *Naval and Military Records of Rugbeians*, p. 1.

finally, after having had three horses shot under him, he fell in a desperate charge upon a battery of French guns, which he destroyed. Passing over various dignitaries of Church and State, we come last to the distinguished soldier Sir Ralph Abercromby.¹ While Abercromby was at school, the victor of Culloden passed through Hillmorton and Dunchurch, and all Rugby seems to have gone over to see the sight. It is said that every boy in the School was there, with the sole exception of Abercromby. His military instincts would seem to have developed afterwards, unless it was a political prejudice that kept him away. After entering the army, he soon rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was mentioned in despatches by the Duke of York, and wounded at Nimeguen. In 1798 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, and for services there done he received the order of the Bath. After being in command of the forces in Ireland, and seeing more active service on the Continent, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the English army in Egypt. Here he defeated the French at Aboukir in 1801, but was mortally wounded in the same year at Alexandria. A monument was erected to him in St. Paul's, and a peerage was given to his family.

Mr. Knail did not stay long enough to carry the School over to the new premises. On September 30, 1751, he sent in his resignation,² and carried away the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

² *Trustees' Books*, of the date; signed in autograph. Original document among the *Papers*.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 115

aroma of his pipes of tobacco to another sphere. He was succeeded by Joseph Richmond, M.A.,¹ the third Queen's man in succession who had been appointed Master of Rugby School. During the four years of Richmond's mastership, he made no entries in the Register, which for those years is a blank. This does not look well for his diligence, and it was probably no misfortune for Rugby when he resigned in 1755.²

On this the Trustees actually elected another Queen's man, Stanley Burrough, M.A., who had previously been an Usher in the School.³ He was perhaps descended from Edward Burrough (1634-62), a famous Quaker controversialist of former days; but the mantle of the old fighting man did not descend on Stanley. Although he remained at Rugby for three-and-twenty years, the place seems to have stagnated rather than lived. The most that can be said is that it did not go back; but it never approached the fame and name of Holyoake's day. Burrough's scholarship may be estimated from a neat Latin oration⁴ delivered at Queen's on Founder's Day, August 15, 1752. As the letter accom-

¹ Son of Richard Richmond, of Crosby, Cumberland, *pleb.* Queen's College: matriculated April 2, 1737, age 17; B.A. 1742; M.A. 1745; Fellow and B.D. 1759; D.D. 1762; Rector of Newnham, 1762; died Jan. 9, 1816.—*Alumni Oxonienses.*

² *Trustees' Books*: Aug. 5, 1755 (autograph).

³ Son of Edward Burroughs, Drigg, Cumberland, clerk. Queen's College: matriculated June 14, 1744, age 18; B.A. 1747; M.A. 1753 (drops the final *s* in his name); Rector of Sapcote, 1778, where he died April 2, 1807.—*Alumni Oxonienses.*

⁴ Autograph MS. now in Rugby School Library.

panying it is dated "Rugby, August 18, 1752," it may be surmised that Burrough was then an assistant to Joseph Richmond.

It is in this period that we find the first attempt to unite the School for religious services on Sunday. Prayers had been held, as we know, morning and evening, certainly for a century and a quarter, and probably been since its foundation. But we now find the Master entering into an arrangement with the Rector of Rugby, by which a gallery should be erected in the parish church for the use of the School.¹ For this privilege the 'Trust paid a yearly rent of one guinea, and defrayed the cost of building. The names were called over after the service from this gallery.

A number of Burrough's pupils distinguished themselves in their day and generation. The most famous of these, though not by his own deeds, was Archibald Stewart Douglas.² His mother was the only sister of the Duke of Douglas, and the Hamilton family tried to persuade the Duke that since his mother was forty-seven years old when she married, the child must be supposititious. A gentleman was sent to Rugby to see whether or not he could identify the boy, whom he had never set eyes on. There was a dramatic scene in the Big School, when Burrough assembled the boys, and the visitor picked out young Douglas by his likeness to his mother's family. By this and his other inquiries the Duke was convinced, and Archibald became heir to his vast estates. However, on the Duke's death in 1761, a lawsuit was brought

Trustees' Books : Order of Aug. 5, 1766.

² Entered 1758.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 117

in behalf of the young Duke of Hamilton, in which it was suggested that Douglas was not the child of the Lady Jane Douglas. The "great Douglas case" was tried before a bench of fifteen Judges, and was decided by a casting vote in favour of the Duke of Hamilton. An appeal was made to the House of Lords, who reversed the decision, and Douglas came to his own.¹

It would be of small interest to call the roll of those of Burrough's pupils who became soldiers, sheriffs, members of Parliament, or scholars in various kinds of learning. One of them, William Sleath,² was an assistant master at his old School, and afterwards became the most distinguished Head-master of Repton. John Sleath,³ also an assistant at Rugby, became High Master of St. Paul's School. Another, Sir George Townsend Walker,⁴ served through many campaigns with distinction. In the Peninsula he was the hero of a brilliant action at Vimiera in 1808, when he routed a far superior body of the enemy, and broke the prestige of that "column of attack" which the French prided themselves upon. At Badajoz he carried the bastion of St. Vincent by escalade, being severely wounded. A fourth was almost equally distinguished in a very different sphere of human endeavour. This was Sir Henry Halford Vaughan,⁵ President of the College of Physicians. The romance of old-world chivalry

¹ *Rugby School Register*, i. 38 ; *The Public Schools*, p. 351.

² Entered 1773.

³ Entered 1776.

⁴ Entered 1773 (*Naval and Military Records*, p. 6).

⁵ Entered 1774.

gathers about the name of Dymoke, the hereditary champions of England; John Dymoke,¹ the sixteenth champion, once submitted to the paternal discipline of Burrough.

In 1777 entered Rugby School, one whose name must ever be interesting to Rugbeians, for the devotion shown by him and his to the interests of the School. This was Richard Rouse Bloxam, afterwards a Rugby Master, and father of the Matthew Holbeche Bloxam to whose labours this book is so much indebted. Little Bloxam paid fourteen guineas a year for board,² and yet they did not give him enough to eat. Moreover, he had to find his own towels, knife and fork, and drinking horn. These hardships so preyed upon his mind that he ran away from school. His home was at Market Harborough, and on the road thither it is necessary to pass the Brook of Clifton. So far the runaway got without mishap, but the sight of this roaring torrent so dismayed him that he thought better of it and went back. This is fortunate for us, because at the tender age of twelve the family taste for letters appears already. The little lad actually kept a diary, and in it he has preserved the programme of Speech Day in the year of his own entry. As the first complete programme existing of a Rugby Speech Day, it is worth reproducing here : ³—

¹ Entered 1772.

² Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 141; *Old School, Bath*. The sum was raised to £16. 16s., with £4. 4s. for schooling.

³ From Bloxam, *Rugby Speech Day in Former Times*.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD SCHOOL 119

EXTRACT FROM DIARY OF 1777.

August the 3rd.—The Trustee Day. There were present at the Speeches, Lord Denby, Lord Craven, Sir Wm. Wheler, Mr. Grimes, and many other gentlemen. The speakers were as follows:—

STAFFORD—Address to the Trustees.
G. GORDON } Ajax.
C. GORDON } Ulysses. *Ovid. M. 13.*
RD. WALKER—Hor. L. 1., Sat. 9.
T. TANQUERAY—Cicero on the death of Crassus.
WM. SMITH—Caractacus' supplication to Claudius Cæsar.
STAFFORD for } The Usurpation of Cromwell.
S. HEYRICK against } *Cowley.*
ED. TANQUERAY—Mucius Scævola to Porsena.
G. GORDON—Psalm 114.
WM. LEE—Sophonisba to Masanesson.
AM. CALDECOTT—Demosthenes' first Philippic.
WM. SMITH—Waller to the House of Commons.
S. HEYRICK—On the British Fleet. *Shakespear.*
Lord Denby begged us a holiday for Wednesday.

The same diary records, under date of Friday, September 3, "Workmen began to dig the foundation of the new School." This was probably an addition to the westward of the Big School of 1750. On Monday, September 6, the diarist notes that the bath was finished, and the foundation of the new School begun. The bath alluded to was dug in the Close.

A list of the boys at Rugby School exists for the year 1777, containing eighty names. Under Holyoake, in the

earlier part of the century, there were (as we have seen) probably a hundred boys in the School, and under Knail the numbers dropped to fifty or so. In June 1778, Burrough's last year, there were fifty-two boys to hand over to the new Head-master. By Christmas the number was sixty-six;¹ and it was not long before all previous records were outstripped far under the new constitution, and a total was reached of two hundred and forty-five.²

¹ MS. Letter of Thomas James, p. 6.

² Letter of June 25, 1794 : Thomas James.

VII

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

TOWARDS the end of Burrough's mastership an important change took place in the constitution of the School. The lease of the London property was soon to fall in, and as a consequence the income of the Trust was about to increase largely. The debt incurred to build the new Schools had by this time accumulated to something like six thousand pounds;¹ and it was calculated that when Milman's lease came to an end in 1780, the Trustees would be able to pay off this debt, as well as a further sum of four thousand pounds which was needed for various purposes, and that the clear income of the Charity would thereafter be more than two thousand pounds a year. It was therefore suggested to Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was a Trustee, that he should draft a new constitution. Sir Eardley Wilmot spent a long time in working the matter out and in meeting the many legal difficulties; and finally having surmounted these, he presented the Trustees with a scheme in outline.² The Trustees cordially approved this scheme, and in thanking him for his great care and trouble, authorised him to put

¹ *History of Rugby*, pp. 115 ff.

² First draft in autograph among the *Papers*; not numbered.

it into execution.¹ The result was embodied in the statute of 17 George III. cap. 71, and its main provisions will now be stated.

It is entitled "An Act to enable the Feoffees and Trustees of an Estate in Middlesex, given by Lawrence Sheriff, for the Founding and Maintaining a School and Almshouses at Rugby, in the County of Warwick, to sell part of the said Estate, or to grant Leases thereof, or of any Part thereof, and to effectuate the other purposes therein mentioned. 1777." The Act first recites that Act of 21 George II., describing the foundation of the Charity by Lawrence Sheriffe, and the results of the Inquisition of 1653. A recital of Barbon's lease follows, and of Sir William Milman's; the £1800 borrowed for buying a new house, on the security of a mortgage; the change of plan which resulted in erecting the new Schools; and that there was in 1776 a debt of £6180. 19s. 7d., with other liabilities amounting to £6600 or thereabouts in the whole. Whereas, therefore, Milman's lease would expire on Jan. 5, 1780, and considerable sums must then be laid out in rebuilding old houses on the estate and in other improvements, it was proposed to raise a sum not exceeding £10,000, by sale, fines, or mortgage, to discharge the said debts and to effect the said improvements. Powers were asked for the Trustees to give leases of the property for specified periods, and to dispose of the rents for the benefit of the Charity. Finally, a schedule was drawn up regulating the constitution of the School for

¹ Order of Aug. 5, 1777.

future time; and this is so important that it must be given in full:—

THE SCHEDULE,

To which this Act of Parliament doth refer; containing
RULES, ORDERS, and OBSERVATIONS, for the good Govern-
ment of *Rugby* School and Charity.

First,—The Reverend *Stanley Burrough*, Master of Arts, the present School-Master, to be continued, so long as he shall behave well; and the House now inhabited by the said *Stanley Burrough*, to be the Place of his Residence; and of the Residence of all the Masters of the Grammar School, who shall succeed the said *Stanley Burrough*: and the Room now used as a School to be the Place in which the Boys resorting to the said School, shall be taught Grammar, and the Latin and Greek Languages; and one or more Usher or Ushers, properly qualified to teach Grammar, and the Latin and Greek Languages, to be appointed by the Trustees, or a major Part of them, at a Public Meeting appointed for that Purpose, to aid and assist the Master, and to hear the Boys under the Age of Twelve Years, say their Catechism once every Fortnight: Also, a Master to be appointed to teach Writing and Arithmetic in all its Branches; and that when, and as soon as the Monies owing from the said Trust Estate, shall have been paid off and discharged, and the Trust Estate remaining unsold, shall have been leased by the said Trustees, or the major Part of them, and the Rents and Profits thereof, shall be sufficient to answer the Payments herein after directed; there shall be paid to the Master of the said Grammar School, for the Time being, over and above the annual Sum of sixty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence now paid, a Sum

not exceeding fifty pounds *per annum*, by Quarterly Payments : and that then there shall be paid to the Usher or Ushers, to be respectively appointed as herein before-mentioned, such annual Sum not exceeding eighty pounds each, as the Trustees, or the major Part of them shall think proper : And such annual Sum, not exceeding forty pounds, to the Writing Master, as the Trustees or the major Part of them shall think proper.

Second,—That all the Masters of the Grammar School, who shall succeed the said *Stanley Burrough*, the present Master, the Usher or Ushers, and the Writing masters who shall succeed those first to be nominated, as herein before-mentioned, shall be chosen within three Calendar Months next after any Vacancy shall happen, by the Trustees, or the major Part of them present at a Meeting to be held for that Purpose, and be removeable at the Will and Pleasure of the Trustees, or a major Part of them present at their Meeting, on the first *Tuesday* in the Month of *August* : And that the Masters and Usher or Ushers, shall be Protestants of the Church of England as by Law established ; And the Master of the Grammar School shall have taken the Degree of a Master of Arts, in the University of *Oxford* or *Cambridge* : And in the Choice of such Master of the said Grammar School, Regard shall be had to the Genius of such Master, for Teaching and Instructing the Children : and a Preference shall be given to such as are duly qualified, and have received their Education at this School. And the said Master and Usher or Ushers, shall take Care to Instruct the Boys resorting to the School, in the Principles of the Christian Religion, Morality, and good Manners, and thereby qualify them to become useful Members of the Community. And in case such Masters, Usher or Ushers, shall be removed on Account of old Age, or Infirmary of Body or Mind, it shall be lawful for the Trustees, or the major Part

of them, present at such annual Meeting, if they think proper, by and out of the Rents and Profits of the Estate, to pay and allow the Master or Usher so removed, an annual Sum not exceeding eighty pounds a Year for the Master of the Grammar School; forty pounds a Year, a piece, for the Usher or Ushers; twenty pounds a year for the Writing Master, determinable at the Will and Pleasure of the Trustees, or the major Part of them present at any quarterly Meeting.

Third,—That the Boys of *Rugby*, *Bromslover*, or in any Towns, Villages, or Hamlets, lying within five measured Miles of *Rugby*, or such other Distance as the major Part of the Trustees, present at any Public Meeting, shall ascertain, Regard being had to the annual Revenues of the said Trust Estate for the time being, shall be instructed by the said Masters and Ushers, respectively, in Grammar, and such other Branches of Learning as are herein before mentioned, without taking from the said Boys or their Parents, Friends or Relations, any Fee or Reward for the same, directly or indirectly. And that such Boys shall regularly attend Divine Service on a Sunday unless prevented by sickness. And in order to proportion in some Degree, the Profits of the Master of the Grammar School, to the number of the Boys under his Care and Tuition; such yearly Sum as the major Part of the Trustees, at any Public Meeting, shall approve of, not exceeding the yearly Sum of three pounds, shall be paid yearly, by and out of the Rents and Revenues of the said Charity Estates, to the Master of the Grammar School, over and above the Salary herein before directed to be paid, for every Boy of *Rugby*, *Bromslover*, or any Town, Village or Hamlet, lying within five measured Miles of *Rugby*, or such other Distance as aforesaid, who shall be instructed by the said Master and Usher in Grammar, and the Latin and Greek Languages, and so in Proportion for any less Time than a year.

Fourth,—The Trustees to meet Quarterly, on the first *Tuesday* in the Months of *February, May, August, and November*, in every Year, in the School, at *Rugby*, aforesaid, at Twelve in the Forenoon, and hear the Boys of *Rugby, Brownsover*, or within five measured Miles of *Rugby*, examined. And at their Annual Meeting in August to make such Rules and Orders for the better regulation of the said School and the Masters and Ushers thereof, and of the said Almsmen, as the said Trustees, or the major Part of them present at such Meeting shall think proper, all which Rules and Orders shall be observed by the Master and Ushers of the said School and Almsmen respectively for the time being.

Fifth,—That the Trustees shall, or may, cause to be built such additional Number of Alms-houses, not exceeding Four, as the Trustees, or the major part of them for the Time being shall approve of; Regard being had to the Revenues of the said Charity, to be for old Men of *Rugby, or Brownsover*, who shall be provided with a Gown the Value of Thirty Shillings, and a load of Coals not less than Forty Hundred Weight, nor exceeding Forty-four Hundred Weight, to each of them yearly, and shall be paid such Weekly Allowance, not less than Three Shillings and Sixpence, nor more than Four Shillings and Sixpence, as the Trustees, or the major part of them present at any public Meeting, shall from Time to Time direct, provided that such Persons do constantly reside within the said Alms-houses. The School-house, School-building, and Alms-houses to be kept in good Repair, and all Taxes, Parish Rates, and other Rates and Taxes, to be paid by the said Trustees.

Sixth,—A Clerk to be chosen by the Trustees, with a reasonable Salary, to keep Accounts of all Monies received and paid, and to examine the Accounts of the Receiver of the *Middlesex* Estate, and prepare the same for the Inspection of the Trustees

at their General Meeting; To register all Orders of the Trustees, and Names of all the Boys on the Foundation, and when they came to the School, and when they left it, and the same of Almsmen; and to make short Abstracts of Dates and Parties, Names, to all Deeds, Writings, &c., and to Register the same in a Book, with References to the Places where they are kept, for the more easy finding them when wanted. And to execute all the Orders and Directions of the Trustees, in respect to the said Charity. That the Clerk for the Time being shall attend all the Meetings of the Trustees, and upon the Deaths of the Masters, or Ushers, or any of them, give Notice thereof, to Three of the Trustees, residing nearest to *Rugby*, who are to appoint a Day within Three Calender Months of such Death, for an extraordinary Meeting of all the Trustees, to proceed to a new Election; and Fourteen Days Notice at the least to be previously given to each of the Trustees of such Day; and that Notice of such Vacancy and Day of Election, shall be inserted in the Whitehall and General Evening Posts, Six Times in each Paper, before the Day appointed for such Election.

Seventh,—That a Receiver of the Rents of the *Middlesex* Estate shall be appointed by the Trustees, or the major Part of them, present at their annual Meeting, with a reasonable Salary; and to give sufficient Security to be approved of by the Trustees, to pass the Accounts yearly, and to pay the Balance as the Trustees, or the major Part of them, present at such annual Meeting, shall direct.

Eighth,—That a Fire-Engine shall be bought, when, and so soon as the major Part of the Trustees present at any public Meeting, shall direct, and the same shall be kept in repair for the Use of the School, Alms-houses, and Town of *Rugby*, at the Expence of the said Trust Estate.

Ninth,—The Trustees, or the major Part of them, to elect

and send, at such Time or Times as they shall think proper, Eight Boys to any of the Colleges or Halls in Oxford or Cambridge; the Sum of Forty Pounds a Year, by half yearly Payments, to be paid out of the Revenues of the said Charity Estate, to each Boy, for the Term of Seven Years, and no longer; and to be called "THE EXHIBITIONERS OF LAWRENCE SHERIFF," and the number of such Exhibitioners, to be from Time to Time filled up in Manner aforesaid: Which Boys respectively shall not be entitled to receive the same annual Sum of Forty Pounds, unless they shall actually reside Eight Months in the Year, in such Colleges, or Halls, and shall previous to such Payment, obtain a Certificate of such Residence, from the Master, or Head of each College or Hall.

The School was about to become more important than it had ever yet been, and Burrough, being then of an advanced age, and perhaps not feeling equal to the call upon his energies which the new scheme must involve, thought fit to resign his post. During his long mastership Rugby School had remained pretty much as it was, and he departed, leaving behind him the memory of a kindly heart, and "a most happy command of temper."¹

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 350.





THOMAS JAMES.
(From an old portrait.)

To face page 129.

VIII

THE NEW MAN

THOMAS JAMES, D.D.,¹ 1778-1794

THE Trustees were well advised in their choice of the man who was to be first titular Head-master of Rugby. Thomas James was an Etonian who had distinguished himself at Cambridge, having been twice Members' Prize-man, and at the time of his election being Fellow and Tutor of King's College. He was not only an accomplished classical scholar, but had no mean skill in mathematics, which formed his chief recreation. What is even more important for a head-master, he showed himself a firm disciplinarian, and an organiser for whose care no detail was too small. James brought with him to Rugby

¹ Born Oct. 19, 1748, at St. Ives, Huntingdonshire; at Eton from 1760; scholar of King's College, Cambridge, 1767; Fellow, 1770; B.A. 1771; M.A. 1774. First Members' Prize for Latin Essay (Middle Bachelors), 1772; Senior Bachelors, 1773. D.D. 1786; Prebend of Worcester, and Rector of Harvingdon, 1797. Died at Harvingdon, 1804; buried in Worcester Cathedral. Author of *Compendium of Geography*, and the *Fifth Book of Euclid*, for use at Rugby.—*Die. Nat. Biog.*

Cambridge scholarship and Eton methods. We shall soon find not merely the tutorial system in full swing, and a body of præpostors served by fags, but dames' houses, and other things and customs which speak of the same origin. Even the very books used at Eton were to be transplanted to Rugby. In this remodelling James was assisted by another Etonian, James Chartres, also Fellow of King's, whom the Trustees at the same time appointed to be Second Master.

Christopher Moor, an assistant of Burrough's, must have continued to do duty for a year or two, as in 1781¹ he receives a pension. James seems to have himself appointed and paid other ushers at first, and the sums thus expended are reimbursed to him in 1780.² At the same meeting a whole batch of assistants receives official sanction—James Chartres as Second Master; Thomas Butcher and William Sleath as "Ushers to assist the Schoolmasters," with a salary of £60 a year each; Henry Draper Lye to teach writing and arithmetic. To the last-named £20 was allowed for teaching the free boys, the others paying a moderate fee. The benefits of the Foundation were at the same time extended to boys living within ten measured miles of Rugby, if within the county of Warwick. In the previous year¹ it had been ordered that no boy should be eligible as a Foundationer after the age of fourteen years.

¹ Order of Aug. 7, 1781.

² Order of Aug. 1, 1780.

The Act described in the last chapter provided for the establishing of exhibitions, and these were to be awarded on the results of an examination held by the Head-master in the presence of the Trustees.¹ For these exhibitions, boys of Rugby and Brownsover were to have the preference, if otherwise worthy. No boy was eligible for an exhibition after the age of eighteen, or without having been three years in the School.

The Head-master² received a salary of £113. 6s. 8d., together with a capitation fee of £3 for each free boy. He also had use of the Schoolhouse and gardens rent free, with the fields or closes adjoining.

Building of new schools had already begun, as we have seen; and these were in the block westward of the Big School which is shown in Pretty's drawing. This building occupied the site of what were later the Fifth-form and Twenty Schools; and it communicated with the Big School by the folding-doors which had been its chief entrance, the portico being removed to the north side. There were four rooms in this new building. The first was fitted with four long tables, and was the dining-room of the Schoolhouse; the others were set apart for the First, Second, and Third Forms. The upper part was divided by James into studies for the boys, wooden partitions being set up, and a long passage left in the

¹ Order of Aug. 3, 1779.

² Same date.

³ Same date.

middle. One of the wings in front of the Schoolhouse, a building of three storeys, was used for the same purpose.¹

But these additions were not nearly enough. The



RUGBY SCHOOL, 1809, FROM THE CLOSE.

(*Nicholas's "History of Rugby," from a drawing by E. Pretty.*)

number of boys was increasing fast, and already a scheme appears to have been under consideration for the complete rebuilding of the School. As early as 1782 a petition had been drafted for the right to use in building those surplus moneys which were expected soon to come in.

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 355.

Another usher was also to be added as soon as the numbers in school should amount to ten more. Meanwhile, some of the barns and outbuildings belonging to the school



ENTRANCE TO RUGBY SCHOOL, 1809.

(Nicholas's "History of Rugby," from a drawing by E. Pretty.)

property were fitted up for schools as best might be done. For more than twenty years after this time, a large barn by the Dunchurch Road was used for the two upper forms. Part of this "Barn-school," as it was called, was

given to the French master; and a small lean-to beside it was used for the execution of offenders by birch and block.

We have seen that for many years the boys had attended service in the parish church. The gallery where they sat was by this time too small to hold them, and James began the practice of holding a Sunday service in school. One of the Masters was appointed chaplain,¹ and allowed £20 a year for "reading prayers and preaching," which sum was afterwards raised to thirty guineas.² Apparently the boys were usually divided, part going to church and the remainder attending service at school. The room used for this purpose was for a long time the Barn-school on the Dunchurch Road. A chapel clerk was first appointed in 1785; there was also an organ and an organist.³

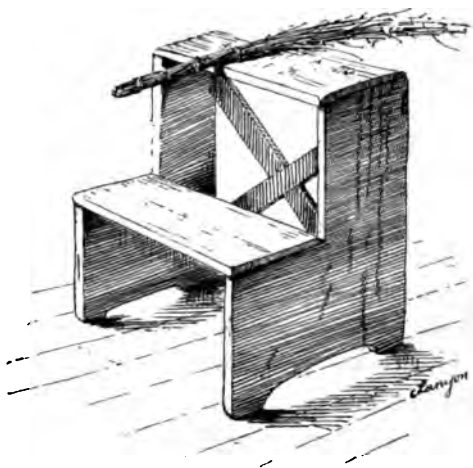
James himself was at the bottom of most of these improvements; and he showed in many ways his devotion to the interests of the School. He bought land adjoining the property at his own expense and costs as opportunity offered. In 1784 we find the Trustees repaying him £300 which had been so spent. He also paid considerable sums out of his own pocket to his assistants. New Almshouses were being rapidly built; and James hit on the idea of converting the old Almshouses near the School into a

¹ Order of Aug. 3, 1779.

² Order of Aug. 2, 1785.

³ *Sumptuary Laws and Letter-Book.*

“nursery”—that is, a sanatorium—and “lodgings.”¹ He also concerned himself about the boys’ exercise. The Head-master had a private bath of his own, which boys were allowed to use if they wished. But in 1784 a moveable shed was erected by the river for boys bathing there ;



THE “COACHING”-BLOCK.

(From a drawing by C. V. Lanyon.)

and bathing-men were appointed to look after them, each boy being charged a small fee of a shilling or two by the year. Perhaps Mr. Sleath, who was Master of the Lower School, had some kind of oversight of this place ; for a

¹ Order of Aug. 3, 1784.

part of the river was (and still is by old Rugbeians) known as "Sleath's" or "Sleet's." This place is shallow, and was set apart in former days for those who were learning to swim.

Of James's methods of teaching and government we have very full information, thanks to various letters and manuscripts of his own which survive; and in view of his importance in the history of Rugby School, it will be worth while to consider these at some length.¹

In the morning, bedroom doors were opened at half-past six, or at seven on Sundays and whole holidays. "Absence" was called at nine for breakfast, and at all other meals. The work of the day was divided into five lessons. The first began at seven in the morning, the second at ten or half-past, the third at twelve, and the two remaining at three and five in the afternoon. This is, to all intents and purposes, the system still followed at Rugby; and there is no reason for doubting that the extreme limits of the lessons were then (as now) fixed, but the times of beginning and ending varied to suit convenience. Tuesday and Saturday were always half-holidays, and two "absences" were called in the afternoon, one at three, and another at five in winter, or in summer at half-past five. The Thursday half-holiday was a gift of grace, always supposed to be earned by one or more good "copies" done in the Sixth or Fifth. These three half-holidays were used for play, or for lessons in dancing,

¹ See his detailed scheme in *Letter-Book*: Letter to Samuel Butler, written about 1798 (copy).

drawing, fencing, and other "accomplishments." A whole holiday was, in James's opinion (and most practical teachers will agree with him), "the worst of plagues;" and if he was obliged to give one, he took care to set some regular exercise to "preserve it from wild schemes and excursions." For evening preparation, boys were locked up (the phrase then had its literal meaning) from a quarter after six to eight, by increases or decreases of a quarter of an hour, according to the season. At locking-up, prayers were said, and any boy absent without reason when the clock struck was whipped. Candles were allowed till nine for the lower forms, and until a quarter to ten for the Fifth and Sixth. "Before I had studies," James writes,¹ "I used to let my boys study by day in their bedrooms; but observe, this will spoil all your beds, bed-quilts, bedding, and curtains. Better, therefore, to send them into school to get their lessons, with an assistant."

The School was from this time divided into six forms, on the system which is now almost universal. The Head-master taught the Fifth and Sixth Forms, with some assistance from others. First lesson on Monday was given to Scripture History, which apparently alternated with Goldsmith's Roman History, or the History of England, in a cycle. Construing followed after breakfast and in the afternoon, Homer, Virgil, and *Scriptores Romani* being the books used. The amount done at each was thirty or forty lines; and previous work was revised as far as might be on Friday. On Tuesday, at

¹ *Letter of 1798*, p. 39; in *Letter-Book*.

first lesson, Cicero was translated in one week, and Latin prose done the next; occasionally an English theme was set instead. The rest of the morning was occupied with Poetae Graeci, and a verse theme and English translation set to be done during the day. On Wednesday the translation or English theme was looked over, and yesterday's Poetae Graeci repeated. Scriptores Graeci were read in the morning, and the afternoon was filled as on Monday, with Livy, Tacitus, or Cicero, with Ovid or Greek grammar. Latin verses were set as the day's exercise. The Latin verses were looked over at first lesson on Thursday, and thirty lines of Ovid or some Greek grammar were also done. After breakfast, Homer was done as on Monday. Thursday's exercise was a copy of lyric verse: Iambics, Sapphics, Asclepiads, Alconics, or Trochaics. Some few boys did Greek verses; and W. S. Landor says that he and Butler were the first boys at Rugby, "or at any school," to do these. The first lesson of Friday was devoted to Homer, with a revision of Thursday's lesson or thirty-five new lines. Sometimes the hour was taken up in revising part of the Homer, and whatever part of the Virgil could not be done at the usual time. At ten o'clock sixty lines were done in the *Satires* or *Epistles* of Horace, or the *Ars Poetica*; sometimes select satires of Juvenal and Persius; both Horace and Juvenal being worked through once in two years and a half. At three o'clock fifty lines of Virgil were revised, with the morning's lesson in Horace. At five, thirty lines were done in Cicero's *de Officiis*,

which were revised in the week next following; and thirty lines of Ovid once construed and once hastily read off in English, this also being repeated in the next week. On Saturday the first lesson was a revision of sixty lines of Horace, which was sometimes done by an assistant, while the Head-master examined a lower form. Fifty lines in some Greek play or in Demosthenes were done at second lesson, and a Latin theme set for Monday. For third lesson of Saturday, at twelve o'clock, thirty-five lines of Milton were read. James used sometimes to give this hour to rehearsing speeches, or to mathematics, "which was my utter ruin at the time." The study of mathematics was a hobby which cost Dr. James dear, for he seems to have found the mental strain of lecturing on this subject very great. "The regular preachment or delivering of such a lecture," he writes,¹ "for an hour together, from twelve to one, after Saturday morning's business (when there was *no exercise*, and only twenty-five lines of Virgil repeated, *sacrificed* to it), not only kept my mind upon the full stretch during the delivery, and so was sometimes painful, but even *wearied* my body to excess, and made it hot, or, at any rate, perspire too much. The boys *must* have observed the truth of these things, especially on Saturdays at dinner, and how pale I used then to look." It is to be feared that the boys were rather amused than concerned at the sight of Dr. James perspiring in his wig, through "honest but *indiscreet* zeal." On Sunday, "absence" was called at nine, before break-

¹ *Letter of Resignation*, p. 21.

fast, and at ten o'clock Greek Testament or some Scripture book was read, such as Secker.

The *Odes and Epodes* were divided into four parts, one of which was construed each half year. Four or five weeks, not more, were allowed for this, during which time Virgil was dropped. Four lessons were given to these in each week, and revised in the week following. Modern geography, with ancient Greece and Italy, was worked through, one in each year. In each half, "two declamations *pro* and *con*" were made. Each declamation was divided into two exercises, and made as two Latin themes, the first being *exordium et prima pars probationis*, the second *secunda pars probationis et peroratio*. For Greek plays there were used Burgess's *Pentalogia* with Latin translation, or separate editions of *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Philoctetes*, *Prometheus*, and *Plutus*, in the Eton editions. Demosthenes and Pindar might be read in selections instead of a play.

The lower forms we may dismiss with a shorter notice, though the scheme drawn up by James has for these the same minuteness as for the Fifth or Sixth. The Fourth Form used Caesar, Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Lucian, Aesop, and *Poetae Graeci*, and their exercises were in Latin prose and verse translation, and Latin themes in prose and verse. Boys of this form did some of their copies under supervision. The Lower School included the Third Form and all below. Here were used Bell's *Pantheon*, *Exempla Moralia*, *Selecta e profanis*, Ovid, Tibullus, with Ellis's *Exercises* and nonsense verses. On

Sunday the Catechism took the place of Greek Testament. Much attention is paid in the lower forms to Accidence and Syntax. In the Second Form *Selecta e Veteri Testamento* was one of the books used, and others were *Exempla Minora*, Phaedrus, and Ellis. No rules are laid down for the First Form, which consisted of very young boys, who knew practically nothing. The construing lesson varied from four lines of an elementary book, to one.

Some minor regulations made by James are not without interest. He first established the system of tradesmen's notes, by which no article could be supplied to a schoolboy without a note signed by the Boarding-house keeper.¹ Tradesmen violating this rule were put out of bounds for a time or altogether. Special paper was supplied "for punishments imposed."² The bookseller, Rowel or Gascoigne, was required to write the boy's name in each book he sold to a boy.³ For books lost or left about, a fine was imposed.⁴ As to pocket-money, threepence a week was allowed for boys "in the Latin grammar or in the First Form," "fourpence may be right in the Second Form, sixpence in the Third, ninepence or less than a shilling in the Fourth, and a shilling in the Fifth and Sixth Forms."⁵ To this a "diligent boy" might add by deserving the "Merit Money," which was awarded each week if earned.⁶ For classical work in the First and Second Forms, threepence was the sum fixed, sixpence for the two next above, and a shilling for the Fifth and

¹ *Sumptuary Laws*, § 1, 2.

² § 15.

³ § 16.

⁴ § 15.

⁵ § 10.

⁶ § 11.

Sixth. Other less sums were given in the French and Writing Schools. Most of this merit money was found by the Head-master. It should be borne in mind that there were no prizes then given.

James made a great point of speeches and declamations. Boys were regularly practised in these, as we have seen, and the third lesson of Saturday was sometimes used for rehearsal, "the most painful and laborious instruction that can be given." "James took vast pains with such boys as were selected," writes his pupil "Nimrod," "and he was well qualified for the undertaking."¹ He did not attempt to teach theatrical action,² but aimed merely at "a delivery with propriety." Speakers were placed at raised desks opposite to each other in the School. Not more than six or eight, ten at the most, should take part, and the speeches should not be frequent, as they interrupt the work of a school. The regular Speech Day was, until 1791, the day when the Trustees met in August. On that day the candidates for exhibitions were examined before the Trustees, and various boys performed in the traditional manner. For this function a wooden gallery³ was erected in the Big School, to accommodate old Rugbeians and other visitors.⁴ The School used to be decorated no longer with rushes, but with oak boughs, and the place was all gay with flowers begged, borrowed,

¹ *Nimrod's Life and Times*; *Fraser's Magazine*, 1842, ii. 173.

² *Letter-Book*: Letter of Oct. 24, 1800.

³ Afterwards called the Oxford Gallery.

⁴ See Order of Aug. 17, 1795, repaying the Head-master what he had spent on this.

or otherwise obtained. The boys were gloriously arrayed in their best; long single-breasted coats, flowered waist-coats slit at the hips, and silk stockings, perhaps also shoes of sealskin¹ with silver buckles. A printed list of the speeches in 1781² is reproduced here:—

HENRY VAUGHAN—The Supplication of Caractacus to Claudius Cæsar.—*Tacitus's Ann.* B. 12. 37.

TANQUERAY—Latinus

JOHN HUNT—Drances } *Virgil's Æn.* 11. 343.

HARRISON—Turnus

JAMES VAUGHAN—The Defence of Charles I. upon his Trial.—*Hume's Hist.* Vol. 7. p. 142.

WILLIAM BABINGTON—Sophonisba's Supplication to Masinissa.—*Livy.* Book 30. 12.

KNIGHT—Part of Tully's Fourth Oration against Catiline.—Sect. I.

HUGHES—Phædria } *Terence's Eunuch.*—Act 1.

EBDELL—Parmeno

KENING—The Popular Applause bestowed on Bolingbroke, when he entered London with Richard II.—*Shakespeare's Richard II.* Act 5.

PEARCE—Archbishop of York—The Decline of Bolingbroke's Popularity, after his advancement to the throne.—*Shakespeare.* Second Part of *Henry IV.* End of Act 1.

PHILIP HOMER—Part of the first Philippic of Demosthenes. Sect. 4.

HUGHES—The beginning of Æneas's Speech to Dido.—*Æn.* 2.

¹ See Dr. James's *Sumptuary Laws*.

² Now in the possession of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.

HENRY VAUGHAN—The Earl of Oxford's Speech in the House of Lords after his impeachment.

BAYLEY—Part of Tully's First Oration against Catiline—*—Sect. 2.*

STAFFORD—Speech of Henry V. before the battle of Agincourt fought on St. Crispian's Day.—*Shakespeare. Henry V. Act 4.*

But in 1791¹ the Trustees, finding it inconvenient from multiplicity of business to attend and hear public speeches on that day, requested the Head-master to appoint another day for the purpose. The day chosen was the second Tuesday in June, just before the School broke up for the summer holidays; and for many years this continued to be the Rugby Speech Day. In choosing subjects for themes and declamations, James spent a vast deal of time and trouble. At the end of his Mastership he had a large collection of them, which he offered to lend his successor. I have not discovered whether this offer was accepted; but it is likely that it was, and if so, that the themes became traditional at Rugby. James does not appear to have seen that boys as well as masters can hand down their themes from generation to generation. This they certainly did, and the "Vulguses" were in Arnold's day a great convenience to the boys of Rugby School.

James took a great interest in the School Library, now some sixty years old. The Trustees allowed him ten guineas yearly to purchase new books; and though he had no library subscription,² it seems to have been

¹ Order of Aug. 2, 1791.

² Letter of Dec. 10, 1793: in *Letter-Book*.

customary for new boys, on being admitted to the freedom of the Library, to make a small present (a crown or so), and another when leaving school. The Library was used by the Fifth and Sixth Forms, and the following list of books is given : ¹—

Guthrie's *Geography*.

Beauties of the Spectator, Tatler, Rambler, Adventurer, Pope's Works.

Elegant Extracts in Prose and Verse.

Elegant Epistles.

Adam's *Roman Antiquities*.

Lemprière's *Bibliotheca Classica*.

Enfield's *Speaker*.

FOR THE LITTLE BOYS' LIBRARY.

Percival's *Moral Tales*.

Goldsmith's *History of England*.

Tales of the Castle.

The Old English Baron.

Sandford and Merton.

Adelaide and Theodore.

Marmontel's *Tales*.

Bible Epitomised.

Principles of Politeness (from Lord Chesterfield's Letters).

Flowers of Ancient and Modern History, and Modern Voyages and Travels.

Gay's Fables.

Robinson Crusoe.

¹ Scheme in *Letter-Book*, p. 34 (copy). These books were used at Rugby (*Sumptuary Laws*, § 16).

Answer is given in the *Saturday Letter* which *James* in *Mr. James* and the *History of Little Jack* - which is full of goodness. It is not to be supposed that this was a compass for the games which they the value of it was not. These are merely the books for recreation, whereas which there were the serious books recommended by *Hayward* and some other classical books were added.

As a constitutional James was strong according to the laws of the day, but the school discipline at that time was anything but perfect either at Rugby or elsewhere. Boys were then left very much to themselves for their exercise hours, and it is odd to find a Head-master writing that a Head-master's house may be expected always to prove a *cessant* of rebellion because he will have a larger number of big boys there. When we find this stated as a matter of course, Arnold's transformation of the educational system is better appreciated. In James's day the *prepositors* (as they were then called) had many privileges, but few duties. There was certainly some sort of organization among them. A "Senior Monitor" is mentioned, who called over the boys aloud in church, and pricked down the absentees; or at other times "form praepostors" did the like severally.¹ But the Head-master does not appear to have depended on the boys for help in supporting the school discipline; and even the assistant masters would seem to have thought that beyond their sphere. So much may be gathered from an Order of the Trustees, which takes the pains to point out, that it is considered

¹ Thomas James's *Letter-Book*, in Rugby School Library.

“equally incumbent on them to co-operate with the Head-master in enforcing the discipline of the School, as in the instruction of the boys.”¹ Of his own principles in school government James writes :²—

I have never governed the Boys by that secret information which some Masters are thought to have derived from *their own* subjects. It would be a high crime and even Treason against the Virtue and Honour of the School to induce Boys to be traitors to their Fellows. I have, however, had good-natured hints thrown in at my study windows in a sort of letters printed with a pen ; and the like have also been found hanging on the knocker of my street Door, or thrust under a hole at the bottom of the Door ; but I know not now for *certain* by whom ;—but such hints shew only the good hearts of the boys who did it, and how perfectly they knew that the Master would accept no dishonourable method of information from a School boy. Secret information from any others I have always thought fair, together with general reports in the case of mischief ; and I have acted upon it (as I told the Boys openly within this month in School), even to expulsion, as in the case of the old man’s teeth knocked out a year since ; and they well knew that I was justified.

Such things as now would be punished by the Sixth, and never come to a master’s ears, were clearly then left for him to find out as best he could, with or without the aid of pellets thrown in at his window by kind-hearted boys. The letter continues :—

¹ *Trustees’ Books* : Order of Sept. 27, 1825.

² *Letter of Resignation*, p. 7.

I governed more by principles of justice, and what I called among the boys (my only law, the Eternal Rule of Right and Wrong—which is the same from Adam to the present hour, let French politicians say what they will (for so I have talked to the School on various occasions). . . . I have governed, I say, more by maintaining such a sort of character among the boys by my actions, than by the terrors of the Rod; though I have established *that* on all becoming occasions (in my own opinion) from boys of 6 years old to boys of 15, or even more than 15 years of age.

These are excellent principles, rarer perhaps in those days, when the “terrors of the Rod” were the mainstay of school discipline. Yet James by no means spared the rod,¹ and it was used to what would now be deemed an alarming extent. One thing we miss—any studious attempt to win confidence and affection; but that is a later growth. The ideal Head-master in the mind of James was an embodiment of strict and impartial justice. If he erred on the one side, it must not be forgotten that the modern and softer ideal errs on the other.

One of James's pupils, Charles Apperley, better known to the sporting world as Nimrod, has left a picture of his Head-master, which is none too flattering.² “The Rev. Dr. James,” he begins, “was a little inclined to be mad—after the fashion of great wits, and a great wit he was.” The hint of madness is somewhat suspicious from Nimrod, who reveals himself as a very scatter-brain. But the

¹ “For Rods or Birch for a year . . . £2. 2. 0.” (Letter of Resignation).

² *Fraser's Magazine*, 1842, ii. “My Life and Times.”

reader can hardly fail to be struck by the success of James's system, as exemplified in a hard-riding old fox-hunter, who cheerily owns that he has "no university honours to boast of," yet carries a volume of Virgil or Horace in his portmanteau when he goes on his hunting excursions. His classical training has imbued him, not only with a store of apt quotations, but with a real taste for literature. There is a wide gulf fixed between Nimrod's garrulous but racy Reminiscences and the elephantine humour of a certain pink periodical. The latter (to use its own choice language) is a quadruped of quite another tint. Nimrod holds the view that James, in spite of his "great wit," was not quite the man for the situation he held. What with "familiar jokes" at one time, and "ill-timed severity" at another, he was "neither respected nor beloved." I take leave to doubt this, on the testimony of other of James's pupils. Butler at least respected him, and probably more than that; after he left school, he and James corresponded regularly, on terms which are almost affectionate. Nimrod indeed was hardly in the frame of mind to appreciate the virtues of his preceptor. "On second thoughts," he goes on, "who ever loved a schoolmaster? *Quem Jupiter odit, pedagogum fecit*: a schoolmaster never was intended to be beloved." From the delicate allusions which follow, I gather that Nimrod had an extensive acquaintance with James in the character of Nemesis; and when he comes to speak of some other of the masters, he forgets all about Jupiter and the pedagogue.

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Notwithstanding the justice and severity of Thomas James, there were two serious rebellions during his Master-ship, which he mentions in the letter already quoted. At that period rebellion seems to have been in the air. Perhaps it is not fanciful to suppose that the revolutionary wave in France, which excited James and all his contemporaries among men, was not without influence on the thoughts of boys, who are always apt to imitate their elders. It was just then also that the system of school discipline was in its beginning, and it was but natural that schoolboys, who had so often hitherto been left to run wild, should chafe under the first attempts at restraint. Whatever were the cause, several of the great schools had to face uprisings of boys during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, or towards the end of the great French war; and Rugby was no exception. Nothing is known of the two rebellions which occurred under James, but that he succeeded in quelling them both. The more serious of them seems to have occurred in November 1786, in which month (apparently just after it was over) the Trustees held a special meeting in Rugby. We are to suppose this was done at the Head-master's request, to confirm the measures he had found necessary in the matter. The Order is as follows:—

We, the Trustees of Lawrence Sherriff's School, present at a Meeting held at Rugby on the 17th day of November 1786, do entirely and earnestly disapprove of the late Riotous and Rebellious Behaviour of the Scholars in the said School; and are unanimously determined to support the

Authority and Discipline of the Master; and from a sense of our own obligation to promote the interests of the Trust, we shall be zealous to assist with vigour and firmness every salutary Regulation which Doctor James may have occasion to establish, and every exertion of his Authority that may be necessary to give it Effect. And we hope he will not hesitate to remove every Boy from the School who shall presume to dispute his Authority, or disturb the peace of the same.

At the end of his tenure of office, James had six assistant masters or ushers,¹ besides the teachers of writing and accomplishments. There were about two hundred boys in the school; and James's scale was six assistants for that number, five for one hundred and sixty-five, and four for one hundred and thirty. William Sleath was then Second Master, taking the Upper Fourth. Nimrod "thought nothing of him as a scholar," which Sleath perhaps learned to bear with equanimity. He was called Bacchus by the boys, on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*, for "he was a very temperate liver." A good-natured man was William Sleath, and Nimrod (who was not allowed a private tutor) presumed upon his good nature and short sight by creeping into Sleath's tutor set and getting the benefit of his instruction free of cost. "What do you do here?" Sleath would say if he spied him; "you can do without me, you idle young dog, if you like." Sleath was an old Rugbeian himself, and had

¹ In the MS. *Register* he places a list of the staff at the head of each year. See also Letter of Resignation, p. 34; *Fraser's Magazine*, 1842, ii. 168 ff.

been schoolboy in one half year and master in the next ; he afterwards became Head-master of Repton (1800-34). He was a noted conversationalist, and even as a schoolboy would often keep his dormitory awake by his stories out of the *Arabian Nights*. Even when at last Nature had her way and the boys fell asleep, Sleath went on ; and when they awoke in the morning they would sometimes find him still talking, like Socrates in the immortal Symposium. John Sleath, who had previously been on the staff—"the eloquent and generous John Sleath," as Landor calls him—also made himself a name in the scholastic world. He was for many years High Master of St. Paul's School, and both he and William trained many distinguished scholars.

Another of James's assistants, George Innes,¹ is described by Nimrod as "a gentleman in thought, word, and deed," though extremely strict. He won the hearts of his pupils by a marvellous skill at single-stick. "His manner," Nimrod writes, "and the carriage of his person were graceful and commanding ; and his taste, which he seemed to communicate to the boys, was acute, accurate, and elegant. I liked much to hear him read ; and I do not think that this accomplishment could be carried to a greater degree of perfection than it was by him." Innes afterwards became Head-master of Warwick School. Two other masters rejoiced in the appropriate names of Homer and Birch. Philip Homer, who was "first assistant" when James left, and then took the Lower Fourth,

¹ Appointed 1783 ; Second Master 1787-92.

had the reputation of being one of the best Greek scholars of his day. The sceptical Nimrod, however, thought as little of Homer's scholarship as of James's, but graciously grants him a "turn for poetry," both Latin and English. As his appearance was somewhat feminine, he was dubbed Filly Homer, and it was thought a great joke to conjugate the verb *φιλέω* loudly in his neighbourhood, taking care that *φιλέωμεν* sounded like Filly-Omer. William Birch had the Lower Third in 1794, and a "fist like a sledgehammer, which he pretty freely made use of." The two remaining masters were Richard Bloxam in the Second Form, and Peter Vaughan in the First.

Several of these, it will be seen, were no ordinary men. James says no more of them than that they were as good as the Eton masters; but there was more in them than mere scholarship, as their after careers may show. James clearly had one mark of genius, the power of attracting exceptional men, and of inspiring even ordinary men to carry out his ideas. What makes the quality of these men the more remarkable (and consequently the attraction of James) is the small salary which they were paid. The official salary of an "usher" was not to exceed £80, and usually was £60; and though additional sums were found either by special grant of the Trustees or by James himself, the whole did not amount to more than £100 a year. Those boarders who did not enter the Schoolhouse were boarded out at a "dame's" in the town; and though an assistant master was sometimes a "dame," this privilege was not general nor of great value. In fact, almost the

HENRY VAUGHAN—The Earl of Oxford's Speech in the House of Lords after his impeachment.

BAYLEY—Part of Tully's First Oration against Catiline—Sect. 2.

STAFFORD—Speech of Henry V. before the battle of Agincourt fought on St. Crispian's Day.—*Shakespear. Henry V. Act 4.*

But in 1791¹ the Trustees, finding it inconvenient from multiplicity of business to attend and hear public speeches on that day, requested the Head-master to appoint another day for the purpose. The day chosen was the second Tuesday in June, just before the School broke up for the summer holidays; and for many years this continued to be the Rugby Speech Day. In choosing subjects for themes and declamations, James spent a vast deal of time and trouble. At the end of his Mastership he had a large collection of them, which he offered to lend his successor. I have not discovered whether this offer was accepted; but it is likely that it was, and if so, that the themes became traditional at Rugby. James does not appear to have seen that boys as well as masters can hand down their themes from generation to generation. This they certainly did, and the "Vulguses" were in Arnold's day a great convenience to the boys of Rugby School.

James took a great interest in the School Library, now some sixty years old. The Trustees allowed him ten guineas yearly to purchase new books; and though he had no library subscription,² it seems to have been

¹ Order of Aug. 2, 1791.

² Letter of Dec. 10, 1793: in *Letter-Book*.

customary for new boys, on being admitted to the freedom of the Library, to make a small present (a crown or so), and another when leaving school. The Library was used by the Fifth and Sixth Forms, and the following list of books is given :¹—

Guthrie's Geography.

Beauties of the Spectator, Tatler, Rambler, Adventurer, Pope's Works.

Elegant Extracts in Prose and Verse.

Elegant Epistles.

Adam's Roman Antiquities.

Lemprière's Bibliotheca Classica.

Enfield's Speaker.

FOR THE LITTLE BOYS' LIBRARY.

Percival's Moral Tales.

Goldsmith's History of England.

Tales of the Castle.

The Old English Baron.

Sandford and Merton.

Adelaide and Theodore.

Marmontel's Tales.

Bible Epitomised.

Principles of Politeness (from Lord Chesterfield's Letters).

Flowers of Ancient and Modern History, and Modern Voyages and Travels.

Gay's Fables.

Robinson Crusoe.

¹ Scheme in *Letter-Book*, p. 34 (copy). These books were used at Rugby (*Sumptuary Laws*, § 16).

part of the river was (and still is by old Rugbeians) known as "Sleath's" or "Sleet's." This place is shallow, and was set apart in former days for those who were learning to swim.

Of James's methods of teaching and government we have very full information, thanks to various letters and manuscripts of his own which survive; and in view of his importance in the history of Rugby School, it will be worth while to consider these at some length.¹

In the morning, bedroom doors were opened at half-past six, or at seven on Sundays and whole holidays. "Absence" was called at nine for breakfast, and at all other meals. The work of the day was divided into five lessons. The first began at seven in the morning, the second at ten or half-past, the third at twelve, and the two remaining at three and five in the afternoon. This is, to all intents and purposes, the system still followed at Rugby; and there is no reason for doubting that the extreme limits of the lessons were then (as now) fixed, but the times of beginning and ending varied to suit convenience. Tuesday and Saturday were always half-holidays, and two "absences" were called in the afternoon, one at three, and another at five in winter, or in summer at half-past five. The Thursday half-holiday was a gift of grace, always supposed to be earned by one or more good "copies" done in the Sixth or Fifth. These three half-holidays were used for play, or for lessons in dancing,

¹ See his detailed scheme in *Letter-Book*: Letter to Samuel Butler, written about 1798 (copy).

drawing, fencing, and other "accomplishments." A whole holiday was, in James's opinion (and most practical teachers will agree with him), "the worst of plagues;" and if he was obliged to give one, he took care to set some regular exercise to "preserve it from wild schemes and excursions." For evening preparation, boys were locked up (the phrase then had its literal meaning) from a quarter after six to eight, by increases or decreases of a quarter of an hour, according to the season. At locking-up, prayers were said, and any boy absent without reason when the clock struck was whipped. Candles were allowed till nine for the lower forms, and until a quarter to ten for the Fifth and Sixth. "Before I had studies," James writes,¹ "I used to let my boys study by day in their bedrooms; but observe, this will spoil all your beds, bed-quilts, bedding, and curtains. Better, therefore, to send them into school to get their lessons, with an assistant."

The School was from this time divided into six forms, on the system which is now almost universal. The Head-master taught the Fifth and Sixth Forms, with some assistance from others. First lesson on Monday was given to Scripture History, which apparently alternated with Goldsmith's Roman History, or the History of England, in a cycle. Construing followed after breakfast and in the afternoon, Homer, Virgil, and *Scriptores Romani* being the books used. The amount done at each was thirty or forty lines; and previous work was revised as far as might be on Friday. On Tuesday, at

¹ *Letter of 1798*, p. 39; in *Letter-Book*.

expected to be done, excepting after a manner chosen by the boys—that is to say, *anyhow*; and half the windows of the School were broken, to be paid for by the parents, for the benefit of the Rugby glaziers. Then the closing scene may scarcely be credible. What is called a feast, or supper, was given at each boarding-house, and punch *ad libitum* was the order of the night.” Nimrod had not so strong a head as Socrates, and the punch was usually too much for him. Perhaps we have here one explanation of his view of James’s scholarship. “Although a small man,” says Nimrod, with some respect, “he had a very powerful arm!”

Rugby had not, like some schools, a special uniform, but boys came to school in the dress of a gentleman of the day. Earlier in the century they sometimes appeared in suits of scarlet cloth, gorgeous with gold lace. The common wear at this time, we are told, was cocked hat and queue.¹ Dr. James has been good enough to leave behind him, in his book of *Sumptuary Laws*, the most minute regulations as to dress. It is clear from this volume that if he had been at the head of the French army in 1870, the famous boast about the last gaiter button would have been true. We see the boys troop past in their stiff hats, with band and buckle; waistcoats of red and scarlet cloth; coat of cloth or kerseymer; breeches buckled at the knee, and made of wash-leather, doeskin, cloth, or even Nanking, if they were extravagant enough to indulge in extra washing; worsted

¹ *Rugby Register*, p. 47.



THE CLOISTERS,
LOOKING FROM THE GATEWAY TOWARDS THE SCHOOLHOUSE HALL.

(From an etching by E. J. Burrows.)

To face page 158.

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stockings, which might be exchanged for silk on Speech Day; and half-boots, ankle-boots, or shoes with metal shoe-buckles. Muslin cravats were bound about the neck, since a "master cannot but disapprove of silk neck handkerchiefs, or silk capes to waistcoats."¹ At night each cherubic face was framed in a nightcap. In their spare time the boys might saunter down town to present their notes for purchases, or on a happier errand to "Queen" Rebecca Treen, who then ruled supreme in Rugby as purveyor of "stodge." Then if after third lesson the welcome sound was heard of "Play for Butler" or "Play for Landor," the boys would hasten over their work in anticipation of a fine afternoon's sport. Some would go down to the river for a bathe, or use the Head-master's private bath. Perhaps a run would be organised, in which (if report speak true) the praepostors were huntsmen or hounds, and fags the hares; the huntsmen arrayed in pink, and armed with long whips, which made pretty play about the hares' legs if they caught them. Some of the bigger boys would perhaps steal into the Doctor's stable, and lame his horses by making them take impossible fences.² Or, again, they might even break bounds, and go a-hunting in the season of the year, or try to find sport for their guns in the neighbouring covers.

But the great delight of a Rugby boy was fishing, within bounds or without. Many a raid was made on

¹ § 18.

² Thomas James, MS. Letter to Trustees, in *Trust Papers*.

the schools for the "five large fire-shovels" which were kept there. "Boys dig worms with them," writes James pathetically,¹ "and leave them, and others take them. Hence these, and so also Tin Pots vanish—so knives vanish—with forks, plates, &c." The unlucky Headmaster was always bringing new ones, and always they silently vanished away. Armed with these lifted tin pots, full of worms dug by lifted shovels, knives, forks, &c., the boys sallied forth for their sport.

Certain ponds along the Dunchurch Road were known only to the elder boys, who used to hie thither in all secrecy and spend many an hour in the gentle craft. Walter Savage Landor was an expert in fishing, and of one day's sport we have an amusing record from the pen of Charles Reade, which deserves quoting:²—

"My father, John Reade, of Ipsden, Oxon," he writes, "was sent to Rugby at eight years of age. Next day, in the afternoon, a much bigger boy espied him, and said, 'Hy, you new boy, I want you.' It was to carry a casting-net. Young Reade found it rather heavy. Master Landor cast the net several times in a certain water, and caught nothing. Thereupon he blamed his attendant. 'You are the cause of this,' said he. 'I begin to fear you are a *boy of ill omen*' (*sic*). He cast again, and drew a blank. 'Decidedly,' said Master Landor, 'you are a *boy of ill omen*. However,' says he, 'we wont lay it on the Fates till we have tried all mortal means. *Sapiens dominabitur astris*. We must poach a little.' Accord-

¹ *Letter of Resignation.*

Forster's Life of W. S. Landor, p. vii.

ingly he proceeded to a forbidden preserve. At the gate stood a butcher, contemplating heifers at feed. "I say, butcher, let me fish the brook there." "Well, sir, 'tain't mine." "Then what objection can you possibly have?" "Why, master, I ha'n't no objection; but, you see——" "Much obliged," says this smart boy, and entered the field directly, cast in the brook, but caught nothing. "Reade," said he, "this is not to be borne. You are a boy of *too* ill omen. Now here is a favourite hole; if I catch nothing in it I shall yield to your evil Destiny; *but* I warn you I shall make you carry the net home, and I shall flick you all the way with my handkerchief." Little Reade looked very rueful at that. The net even when dry had seemed mortal heavy to him, and he began to calculate how much more it would weigh when wet and dirty. The net was cast—a good circle—drawn steadily to land, and lo! struggling in its meshes a pike of really unusual size. Master Landor raised a shout of triumph; then instantly remembering his partner, he turned to Master Reade: "Welcome to Rugby, sir, welcome! You are a boy of *excellent* omen. I'll carry the net home, and you shall sup off this fish; it is the joint production of my skill and your favourable *star*." Next day there was a complaint against him for fishing out of bounds. "Mr. X. (the butcher) gave me leave," said he quietly.

On another occasion Landor was fishing in forbidden waters, when a farmer protested, and demanded his tackle. Landor complied by throwing his casting-net over the irate farmer, and soon reduced him to submission.¹ The poor fags did not always find a "master" so considerate as Landor, who used to protect them from bullying,² and

¹ *Life*, p. 12.

² *Life*, p. 16.

even paid his own particular fag threepence a week. Their duties were many and burdensome; blacking shoes, cleaning knives and forks, and carrying up water from the pump to the dormitories, were among them. Sometimes a fag was made to warm two or three beds in succession by lying in them, or he had to rise at some unearthly hour of the morning, to run a couple of miles out into the country, and take up a night-line which his "master" had set overnight.¹

The Rugby boy's study was his castle, into which none might intrude without leave. Dr. James himself once paid a paternal visit to Landor. The lad knew perfectly well who was there, but the Doctor, on knocking at the door, was met with the cry, "Get thee hence, Satan!" The tenant might, if he chose, have a lock put on the door, and so hold himself free from the madding crowd. Within he was monarch of all he surveyed, but that was not much.² The chief furniture was a plain wooden table covered with green baize, a stool with three round legs, a cupboard, and nails for his hat and coat. In addition there were a plain flat-bottom tin candlestick with iron extinguisher and snuffers, a wooden candle-box, a staff-handle brush, a leaden inkpot, basin and bottle for washing the hands, and a saucer or gallipot for soap. The window was protected outside by a wire lattice, and was hung with a cotton curtain on four rings, or a blind. This mansion cost him from ten to fifteen shillings a year, and the

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 360.

² *Sumptuary Laws*, §§ 24, 26.

tenant bought his own furniture. No looking-glass is mentioned, so probably the Rugby boy did not comb his hair many times in the day. Indeed, it seems that only a "prudent boy"¹ was allowed a comb; others went to the "combing-house"² at certain times and had the combing done for them. This den was the scene of his work or feasting, or of the rough horseplay of friends and enemies. When illness attacked him, the boy was placed in the "Sick Nursery,"³ where he had a separate fire and candle, and one or more nurses to look after him if he were seriously ill. He was also allowed the luxury of tea morning and afternoon, at a cost of sixpence a day. Tea then cost eight shillings a pound, and sugar one shilling, and these were never allowed to the boys when well. Such were "not school articles, but suggested only by the indulgence of some few parents."⁴ Beer was the common drink of that generation, and James, like all his predecessors, had his own brew-house. Luxurious persons in the dames' houses might have two studies knocked into one, and even enjoy a fire; the others got warm as best they could with the aid of a fire in the corridor. There must have been a great "froust" in those studies. A hardy life those boys must have led. Only in the schools were fires kept up during the winter.⁵ One was in the "Big Old School," one in the Masters' School, the Headmaster's School had a third, the "Dining School" a fourth, and the last was in the "Upper Boys' Room over the

¹ *Sumptuary Laws*, § 8.

² Paper not numbered.

³ *Sumptuary Laws*, § 30.

⁴ *Sumptuary Laws*, § 32.

⁵ *Letter of Resignation*.

School." Was the intention to make the boys look forward to their hours of work, as the Spartans found war a relief from the horrors of peace?

In certain of the dames' houses things were in some respects more comfortable, in spite of old boys' memories of the whitewashed dormitory and hard bed, and the surly old man-servant, with his good-night greeting of "Get to bed with you!" Nimrod and his brother had a very commodious study, with a fireplace, in which they, with a chum, provided breakfast and tea at their own cost. The house belonged to one Powell, a country apothecary, who went about in a drab suit of clothes, cauliflower wig, and black-topped boots. "Old Mother Powell" was a "regular skinflint," and her thin dinners were avenged by many a prank. "Horrible were the tricks we played this old housewife," writes Nimrod, and gives a sample. Mother Powell had a tea-party one evening, and the boys "blew the fumes of assafœtida, by the means of a tobacco-pipe, through the keyhole of the door," and drove Mother Powell and her gossips out of the room.

In school, or out of it, boys had then more sport than they have now. With what gusto Nimrod tells of a jest broken on poor L'Estrange, who had innocently asked some one to write him a verse or two:—

"With all my heart!" says the other. "Take your pen and write as I dictate," and he thus dictated the two last lines—

'Hos ego versiculos scripsi, sed non ego feci :
Da mihi, praeceptor, verbera multa, precor.'

I think I now see Paddy L'Estrange, as he was called, showing up these verses to Birch, and his surprise when the pedagogue told him he should certainly *comply with his request*, and have him flogged; which he surely was as soon as school was over.

Nor was the fun confined to schoolfellows. Some of the masters were harried to desperation, and one of the writing masters was forced to resign because of "the many insults he had received from the boys."¹ Even the person of the chief was not sacred from their irreverence. William Henry Lyttelton, afterwards third Lord Lyttelton, and Landor must have led poor Dr. James a sad life between them. Lyttelton's humour took a practical turn, but so amiable was he that everything was forgiven him. He and some friends one day tied up a young donkey in the Doctor's desk at school, and all Dr. James said was, "Take him down, but, pray, don't hurt the young doctor."² Landor was a more serious opponent, being perhaps the cleverest boy in the School. In Latin scholarship, at least, he was probably equal to his schoolfellow, Butler, the great Head-master of Shrewsbury, and he used to delight in sharpening his wits on James. The two had frequent differences in school, and when Landor was attacked, he retorted by some abstruse question as to "longs and shorts,"³ which served as a red-herring across the scent. On one occa-

¹ MS. Letter in the *Papers*.

² *Fraser's Mag.*, 1842, ii. p. 325.

³ *Life*, p. 12.

sion Landor's impudence carried him far; it shall be given in the words of Charles Reade:¹—

One day in full school, Master Landor had an apple of singular size and beauty. He had his Livy in one hand and this apple in the other, and read and read, and munched and munched, till the sound struck the Doctor. He espied the delinquent, and ordered him to bring that apple to him. He put it on his desk *coram populo*; and then, half relenting, said: "There, sir. Now, if you want that again, you had better go and sit down and make me a short line on the occasion." "Oh, I can do that and stand here," says Master Landor. "Do it then." The boy thought a moment, and soon obliged him with a pentameter—

"Esuriens doctor dulcia poma rapit."

"Hum!" says Dr. James. "And pray, sir, what do you mean by *E-su-riens doctor*?" "The gormandising doctor." "Take it, sir. You are too hard for me, you are too hard for me," said the Doctor, delighted with his pupil.

Another instance of Landor's ready wit may be given:—

There were seven boys in the School of the name of Hill. The boys wanted a half-holiday, and came to Landor. "Write to old James for one," said they. Landor consented, and wrote a copy of verses, wherein he compared Rugby to Rome, because it was built on seven Hills. "Ah," said the Doctor, "I don't ask you who wrote this, for there is only one of you with the brains to do it. Half-holiday? Yes."

Landor's chief grievance seems to have been that his verses were not appreciated, especially when a copy

¹ *Life*, p. viii.

had to be chosen for Thursday "Play." "Mine were always the best,"¹ he says, with Olympian candour, "but out of malice, I am afraid, the very worst of them were chosen." Accordingly, when he was told to copy his verses into the Head-master's album, he added two stanzas beginning—

Haec sunt malorum pessima carminum
Quae Landor unquam scripsit.²

"This was my revenge," says Landor; and all he got for it was a reprimand. Emboldened by this mild treatment, the next time he wrote a copy in the album he put in verses so scurrilous that James had to request he might be removed from the School. James himself was fond of a joke, as already related, and enlivened his translation by topical allusions. "I take it for granted," he writes to Butler in 1796,³ "you did not forget how we used to construe 'Est *Ulubris*, animus si te non deficit aequus'—'how happy a man might be at *Brown-soever*.'" But it takes a keen sense of humour to be amused at squibs composed in the most elegant Latin to one's own ridicule, by a pupil of one's own. James must have been greatly relieved to be rid of his too clever pupil.

Fighting was very common at Rugby in those days, as it was everywhere until a very few years ago. Those were the palmy days of Humphries and Mendoza, and the fashionable world was beginning to patronise the prize-ring. If fighting was not exactly encouraged at school,

¹ *Life*, p. 101.

² *Life*, p. 19.

³ *Letter-Book*: from Upton, March 2, 1796.

we have Nimrod's word for it that little notice was taken of black eyes and bloody noses.

The head of the ring for some time (he writes) was a boy named Birch, brother to the Master, who was himself an expert boxer, and would often look on when a good fight was proceeding. And the fighting at Rugby was not in the pulling, bawling, and scratching style ; far from it. A ring was formed, and each boy had his second and bottle-holder, and all the ceremonies of the fistic art were religiously observed. Battles would often last an hour or more, and amongst the boys of the Upper School much science was displayed. All this practice of self-defence, however, had a very good effect. No unfair blow was ever allowed to be given, the part of a little boy was always espoused when he was seen to be bullied by a big one, and when once a lad had shown himself a good one in the ring, he was generally respected in the School.

Landor, who excelled in boxing, running, leaping, and all manner of athletics, was himself quite a little fire-eater. At the age of eight he fought a great battle with Arthur Benjamin Clifton,¹ who afterwards fought more serious foes at Talavera, Vittoria, and Waterloo. This mode of settling differences, so well suited to the age of boyhood, and so unjustly abused, often served to make lasting friendships. Landor had another battle with William Birch, who gave him a sound thrashing. "We were intimate ever afterwards," writes Landor, "until his death."²

¹ Entered 1783. Afterwards General Sir A. B. Clifton, G.C.B., &c.

² *Life*, p. 15.

It was a rough time, but the boys for all that (or perhaps because of that) became manly and courageous men. The roasting so vividly described in *Tom Brown's School Days* was not without parallels.¹ One such certainly occurred a few years later, the victim of which fought at Waterloo.² A custom which belonged to those days was called Ash-planting.³ Any grave offence against the traditions of the School, such as a personal assault made by a fag on a praepostor, was punished in the presence of a judicial committee of praepostors and by their order. The offender was chastised with three ash saplings, two of which had to be broken over his body. Sometimes he was sent out to gather the saplings himself; but whether this was meant as an added indignity or as an act of mercy, does not appear.

Pure mischief is always plentiful in a healthy boy, and at that time this quality had free scope. In the intervals of smoking out their unlucky dames, the boys would indulge in a town and school row, or a raid on some one else's boarding-house where better dinners were to be had, or in breaking any windows that they happened to see. But James's organisation was equal to any emergency. Boys in the boarding-houses were condemned to repair *at the end of each week* the windows of any of their neighbours broken by them, unless the offender were discovered, in which case he of course paid the piper himself.⁴ Not many boys, perhaps, earned the "Merit Money"

¹ Macready's *Life*.

² *The Public Schools*, p. 349.

³ *The Public Schools*, p. 359.

⁴ *Sumpt. Laws*, § 31.

which was offered as an inducement to diligence ; and their own modest allowance of from threepence to a shilling each week ¹ must have been sorely taxed to meet liabilities.

Another custom, which is only vouched for at a later date,² was probably introduced under James. Shirking is a recognised custom at Eton, and a variety of it used to be observed at Rugby. It was illegal to be out of bounds—that is to say, beyond the radius of some half a mile round the School. If a fag out of bounds spied a praepostor, he had to hide, or scud over hedge and ditch until the great man called “On !” The fag then resumed his occupation as if nothing had happened. But if the call was “Back !” the fag had to come up to the praepostor and answer for himself.

Nimrod says nothing of football at Rugby at this time ; but cricket was, according to him, “in high repute.” Never had he seen neater batters or surer bowlers than some of his schoolfellows, although he had seen many of the best performers of the day. The bowling was doubtless underhand ; “it is now become more like throwing,” says he, in the spirit of *laudator temporis acti*, “and has lost all its grace in my eyes.” Nor had he seen “balls sent further or higher from the bat than those which Joseph Port, Harry Wise, or Ned Tompkinson could send in the Rugby playground.” These hard hitters are otherwise unknown to fame ; and Rugby had yet many

¹ *Sumptuary Laws*, § 10.

² Melly, *Experiences of a Fag*, p. 241 ; *Echoes Far Off*, p. 9.

years to wait until Wynch and Sandford won glory for their School among the cricketers of England.

As might have been expected, many of James's pupils distinguished themselves in after life. It is no longer worth while to record mere university distinctions, which at this time become numerous ; but one man stands out from the rest as a scholar whose memory still lives. This was Samuel Butler.¹ At Cambridge he won the Craven scholarship, the Browne's medals for Greek and Latin odes, the Chancellor's medal, and two Members' prizes. After being elected Fellow of St. John's, he was appointed Head-master of Shrewsbury School, which he completely reorganised and raised to the highest pitch of efficiency. It may be doubted if any other schoolmaster, even Dr. Kennedy, has been so good a trainer of scholars as Butler ; the successes of his pupils at the university were phenomenal, and excited the admiration of the scholastic world. His career is the more remarkable in that he was a pioneer, like his own master James ; and one of James's truest satisfactions was in seeing the success of the man he had trained. Nimrod slept four years in the same room as "this learned man," who used to surprise the unsophisticated junior by never appearing to do any work. He seemed to be the idlest boy in Rugby, and spent his time in fishing, or in reading novels and plays. On awaking in the morning, he would order some fag to fetch him a sheet of paper ; and then taking "a novel or book of plays, often Shakespeare, of course," from under his pillow, he would

¹ Entered 1783.

write his exercise off-hand. This, "whether in prose or verse, Greek, Latin, or English, was sure to be the best of the day." He never made any real preparation for class, yet "displayed" his author beautifully; and James, who was very proud of him, would often appeal to him for his interpretation of a hard passage. This is clearly the roseate account of a hero-worshipper; and if there is any truth in it, Butler must indeed, as Nimrod suggests, have "worked hard at Cambridge."

Besides Landor, there were others of James's pupils who made their mark in literature. Henry Carey,¹ the translator of Dante, was at school with Landor; and a few years after him² entered John Parkhurst, the author of Greek and Hebrew lexicons, which were for long used as standard works. Charles Apperley,³ the entertaining "Nimrod," was a writer on sporting matters, whose trumpet (to use his own modest words) "has already been heard in all habitable quarters of the globe." Though, as a literary man he deserves no mention beside the great name of Landor, we have drawn so freely on his anecdotes that we owe him a parting blast. It is interesting to add that his best book has in this very year been reprinted.

Others of James's pupils served their day and generation in the State, as Stephen Lushington,⁴ Secretary to the Treasury, and Governor of Madras; or in the Church, as John James, the Head-master's son, who became Bishop

¹ Entered 1783.

² 1788.

³ Entered 1789.

⁴ Entered 1778.

of Calcutta;¹ Edward Legge,² and Richard Bagot,³ each being Bishop of Oxford. A large number entered the army or navy, and of these there is no space to speak in detail. One Rugbeian, the Hon. Granville Leveson Proby,⁴ afterwards Vice-Admiral, and third Earl of Carysfort, was a midshipman of Nelson's flagship at the battle of the Nile, and lieutenant of the *Neptune* at Trafalgar. Robert Mansel,⁵ afterwards Rear-Admiral, when in command of the *Penguin*, pluckily engaged three large ships of the enemy, one of which struck to him. A number of Rugbeians of this period fought in the Peninsula or at Waterloo; one of them, George L'Estrange,⁶ was mentioned in despatches by Wellington after the battle of Albuera, and recommended strongly for promotion, for a successful defence against overwhelming odds.

The strenuous toil of sixteen years at length told on Dr. James's health to such an extent that he found it necessary to resign. He retired to enjoy his well-earned ease at Upton-on-Severn, which living he held for a year or two, until he was placed in a prebendary stall at Worcester. Two of his letters draw the picture of his peaceful life in the country, with wife and children, and three or four private pupils.⁷

"I thank God," he writes, "that I have recovered my

¹ Entered 1792; Bishop of Calcutta 1826.

² Entered 1781

³ Entered 1790.

⁴ Entered 1792.

⁵ Entered 1780. *Naval and Military Records*, p. 9.

⁶ Entered 1791. *Naval and Military Records*, p. 21.

⁷ To S. Butler, March 2, 1796; and to Mr. Grimes, Nov. 1. 1796.

spirits . . . I no longer see anything in a gloomy light. The night has dispersed at last, and my sun has arisen again after a long absence." He invites his friend to a "jaunt in an Irish carr," which he had just purchased, but had never gone abroad "with more than eleven souls mounted upon it."

Two of my lesser satellites (he goes on) sit in the middle between rail and rail, or between the one side chair and the other; and in a line with them in the middle is my servant, John Oneley, the driver; on the one side chair is Mrs. James with four lesser satellites; and on the opposite side chair is a Nurse maid and child in the lap, little Mary, and two bright luminaries of this lower world, commonly called two fair Ladies among my Upton Neighbours, who pleased themselves and us by the brightness of their influence. The power of attraction is all centred in the one horse, fixed directly in the center of the Carr's front, before John Jupiter Oneley, the Chariottee. Come, and let us whisk you along with us in our Worcestershire vertex; come, be soused with me into the bath at Malvern; be scoured with me by the salts of Cheltenham; and be sulfurised with me both within your skin and without it, by potation and ablution, by repletion and absorption, in plain language, by drinking and washing in what are called a sort of Harrogate waters springing within a mile of Upton.

In this playful and happy mood let us leave the labourer to his rest.

On the wall of Rugby School Chapel is a fine memorial tablet by Chantrey, representing Thomas James in his wig and gown, and seated in a chair of the ancient

Greek type. Beneath it is an inscription composed by Samuel Butler, his favourite pupil, which reads as follows:—

THOMAS JAMES S.T.P.

COLL · REGAL · APVD · CANTABR · OLIM · SOC ·
SCHOLAE · RVGBEIIENSIS · AB · A · S · MDCCLXXVIII · AD · A · S ·
MDCCXCIV · MAGISTER
VIXIT · ANNIS · LV · MENSIBVS · X · DIEBVS · IX ·
DECESSIT · X · KAL · OCTOBR · A · S · MDCCCIV · VIGORNIAE ·
SEPULTUS · EST
ERAT · IN · HOC · VIRO · INGENII · ACVMEN · SINGULARE
QUO · VENIVSTATES · LITERARVM · IPSE · PENITVS · PERSENTIRET
ERAT · IN · IIS · EXPONENDIS · VERBORVM · NATVRALIS · NON ·
FVCATVS · NITOR
ITA · VT · QVOD · IPSE · OPTIME · INTELLEXISSET
COPIOSE · ET · DILVCIDE · CVM · ALIIS · COMMVNICARET
ERAT · LEPORE · CONDITA · GRAVITAS · QVA · MENTES · PVERORVM ·
AD · SE · ALLICERET
ET · DISCENDI · TAEDIVM · DOCENDI · SVAVITATE · LENIRET
ERAT · IN · SVMPTIBVS · EORVMDEM · MODERANDIS · IN ·
VALETVDINE · TVENDA
IN · MORIBVS · AD · PUDICITIAM · PROBITATEM · PIETATEM ·
INFORMANDIS
ANIMVS · VERE · PATERNVS
HIS · ILLE · VIRTVTIBVS · INSTRVCTVS
SCHOLAM · HANCCE · MAGNA · DISCIPVLORUM · FREQVENTIA ·
MAGNO · FAMAE · CVMVLO
AVXIT · ATQVE · ORNAVIT
QVI · AVTEM · APVD · DISCIPVLOS · SVOS · SANCTI · PARENTIS ·
LOCVM · TENVIT
IDEM · ILLE · HUIUS · SCHOLAE · GVBERNATORIBVS · ITA · CARVS ·
ACCEPTVSQVE · FVIT
VT · AB · IIS · VNA · MENTE · REGI · HONORIFICE · COMMENDARETVR ·
CVIVS · FAVORE · PRAEBENDARIVS · IN · ECCLESIA · CATHEDRALI ·
VIGORNIAE · CONSTITVTVS · ESSET
TALI · ET · PRAECEPTORI · ET · AMICO
ALVMNI · EIVS · PIO · GRATOQVE · ANIMO · H · M · P · C · A · S ·
MDCCXXIV

A portion of the money collected for this monument not being needed for that purpose, there was also founded a prize for Greek Verse, to be called for ever after his name. But a memorial yet more abiding is that which he built for himself. Thomas James was the creator of Rugby as it now is; and of him, as truly as of the architect of St. Paul's, it might be said, "*Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice.*"

IX

THE GREAT REBELLION

HENRY INGLES, D.D., 1794–1806

As earlier in the century one Queen's man led to another, so was Thomas James followed by Henry Ingles, another Etonian, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.¹ Ingles had previously had some experience of school work as Head-master of Macclesfield School; and he arrived at Rugby, as James writes to Samuel Butler, "still panting for glory."² From the first he ruled with great strictness, and even severity. Perhaps there was a reason for this, as discipline may have slackened somewhat during the late Head-master's long illness; but the change did not commend itself to the boys. The new Head-master was known in school as the "Black Tiger," and, as we shall see, a very strong method was taken by the boys on one occasion to show their disapproval of him.

Ingles is described by one of his pupils as—

¹ Born about 1749. Son of Anthony Ingles, of Ashford, Kent. Matriculated Dec. 17, 1767; B.A., 1772; M.A., 1775; D.D. (Lambeth), Dec. 19, 1796.

² Letter of Sept. 7, 1794: in *Letter-Book*.

A pale, ascetic-looking man, whose deportment was grave, dignified, and awe-inspiring. The clicking of the latch of the door by which he entered the Upper Schoolroom instantly produced a silence like a chill, and the boldest held his breath for a time. It was in the deepest hush of both Upper and Lower Schools that the sound of his tread was distinctly heard, or that his voice echoed through the halls as he gave out on a Thursday morning the name or names of the boys whose exercises entitled them to the honour of "Play," *i.e.* of obtaining for the School one of the half-holidays of the week.¹

Ingles made several small changes in the government of the School, which, without touching the main features of the existing system, were certainly improvements upon it. He abolished the presents—usually one guinea—which his predecessor used to receive from boys on leaving School. He also did away with the "Christmas present" of one guinea, which most parents were in the habit of sending the Head-master, "in order to enable him to engage able scholars and respectable gentlemen." This sum was added to the Head-master's tuition fee, making five guineas in all.² He also introduced the custom of having outside examiners for the exhibitions. In the Trustees' *Order Book*,³ the year after Ingles's accession, stands the following resolution:—

Resolved: That two Posers or Examiners be appointed to attend at the School House on the first Tuesday in August, at

¹ W. C. Macready, in Pollock's *Life*, vol. i. p. 11.

² Ingles's note to *Sumpt. Laws*, § 49.

³ Aug. 17, 1795.

Ten o'clock in the Morning, for the purpose of assisting the Trustees in the examination of the scholars who are candidates for the vacant Exhibitions.

That the Examination be in the presence of the Trustees, or a Committee of their Appointment, and of the Head Master of Rugby School.

That the candidates be examined in the Books which they have read in School during the two preceding years, and in Latin Composition.

That the whole Sixth Form, or such Boys among them as the Trustees shall appoint, be afterwards examined in the Lessons of the Preceding Year.

That the two Examiners, who it is presumed will not consider the Appointment in a lucrative view, shall receive each Ten Guineas to defray the expences of their journey.

It was also provided that the Examiners should be Masters of Arts, and "educated after the Eton or Rugby method." Apparently the Posers did consider the appointment in a lucrative view, for it was found necessary in the next year to increase the fee to twenty guineas. Thus the two Posers earned in one day what an assistant master took four months to earn. It is comforting to find that the Trustees considered even the assistants to some extent in a lucrative view, for in 1797, owing to the increased price of provisions, their official salary was increased to eighty pounds. In the same year (1797) the boarding-house fee was increased to twenty guineas a year for the same cause. This shows how the great war was pressing on all classes of the community. Whether this Head-master was as generous

to the assistants as his predecessor, I know not; but he helped them to live by getting them curacies.¹

About this period we begin to find more names of the various boarding-houses mentioned. Besides the Schoolhouse and Birch's, of which more will be said anon, the following names occur: Moor, Maling, "Dame Powell," Bloxam, Bucknill, Stanley, Wratislaw; and Gascoigne still continues. This list will show that some of the masters, at least, took boarders under Ingles.

Ingles did what he could to give a separate study to each boy. It does not appear how far he succeeded, but he certainly intended to carry the reform through.² He also saw that the care of a large boarding-house was "incompatible with the general duties of the School."³ He had two-and-twenty boys then in the Schoolhouse (no great matter according to modern ideas), yet proposed to reduce these gradually to six or seven, thus leaving himself free for his own proper duties as Head-master. A third innovation was to establish a kind of preparatory department.⁴ It was decided to admit boys to the writing school one year before they were entered into the grammar school. These boys were not counted as of the School proper, and no capitation fee was paid on their account.

Of this Head-mastership there is little more to tell. Ingles appears to have carried on the School with ability,

¹ Letter of T. James to S. Butler: in *Letter-Book*.

² Note to *Sumpt. Laws*, § 59.

³ Letter to the Trustees; no date.

⁴ Order of Aug. 3, 1802.

THE GREAT REBELLION 181

and not without success, notwithstanding that the numbers fell off somewhat. The figures for the five central years of his tenure are as follows: ¹—

1799 . .	Foundationers, 28 ;	Boarders, 116 = 144
1800 . .	„ 27 ;	„ 122 = 149
1801 . .	„ 32 ;	„ 110 = 142
1802 . .	„ 31 ;	„ 109 = 140
1803 . .	„ 33 ;	„ 108 = 141

These numbers are less by about fifty than James left in the School. When Ingles resigned, however, in 1806, the Trustees accepted his resignation “with the greatest regret,” and expressed their satisfaction at “the present exemplary state of the learning and discipline of the School.”² These are no empty phrases, for compliments of the kind are rare among the Trustees’ resolutions. Ingles, like his predecessor, received a small pension, with which he retired to a country living. He died at Easton, Hants, in 1826, and left directions that no monument should be put up over his grave.³ Saddened by a terrible shock in his early married life, when he suddenly met bearers carrying home the body of his eldest son, who had been drowned, Dr. Ingles seems to have been a gloomy and morose man; but though he may not have been loved at Rugby, he was always respected.

Two events of importance occurred while Ingles was

¹ Schedule among the *Papers*, drawn up for presenting to Parliament.

² *Order-Book*: Aug. 5, 1806.

³ See Bloxam's *Rugby*, p. 67.

Head-master. The first was a determination to rebuild completely the Schools and Schoolhouse, to add a chapel, and to make the whole pile worthy of the position which Rugby School had attained. For many years the surplus income had been accumulating, until in 1799 it amounted to more than twenty-five thousand pounds,¹ which stood invested in Government stocks. The property seems to have been rapidly improving in value, and a large permanent increase of income was to be expected. It was therefore resolved to procure plans and estimates for the purpose named, and permission was asked to sell stock up to ten thousand pounds for building. At the same time it was proposed to add two pounds to the capitation fee for each Foundationer, to increase the number of exhibitions to twenty-one, and to augment the value of each by ten pounds.² The completion of the plan for building belongs to the next chapter ; but it is proper to mention it here, for we can hardly doubt that the Head-master's hand is to be traced in this as in the other improvements of this period.

The second important event was a mutiny of the boys, thereafter known as the Great Rebellion.³

One day in November of the year 1797, the Head-master was walking down the street, when he heard the sound of pistol shots from Gascoigne's boarding-house. He promptly entered the yard, and saw one of the boys

¹ *Order-Book* : Aug. 6, 1799.

² Aug. 2, 1803.

³ Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 65, from the accounts of some who had been in it ; *The Public Schools*, p. 368 ; *New Rugbeian*, iii. 125-130.

shooting off cork pellets at the study windows. Mr. Gascoigne seemed to be taking this calmly enough ; perhaps he was used to it, for we have seen that it was taken for granted windows must be broken every week, and he may have been grateful it was not the windows of a neighbour. Not so Dr. Ingles ; he pounced upon the boy, and demanded where he had bought the gunpowder. The boy gave the name of Rowell, a tradesman who combined the functions of grocer, bookseller, and ironmonger. But the wily Rowell had entered the article as tea, and denied the offence ; his books supported him. Consequently Astley, the young sportsman in question, was flogged. Astley related his grievance to indignant friends, and a party of them sallied forth and smashed Rowell's windows. When this came to the Head-master's ears he decreed that the damage should be paid for by the Fifth and Sixth Forms. Thereupon the boys drew up a round robin, in which they declared they would do no such thing. The Head-master breathed out threatenings and slaughter, which only made matters worse. The first act of war was the explosion of a petard by the door of Ingles's school, which blew it off its hinges. Next day, Saturday, fags were sent round to the different houses to whip in all boys to the schools ; and in the morning, after second lesson, the bell clanging violently sounded the alarum. At the signal, small boys, mounted on big boys' shoulders, broke the school windows through the protecting latticework. Then all the boys began to lug out desks and benches, and tear down wainscoting from the

walls; all these fragments were piled in the centre of the Close, and set fire to, Ingles's books being thrown on the top. The schoolhouse butler, "Billy Plus" as he was called, like a hero of the Victoria Cross, risked his skin to rescue some valuable books from the holocaust. Meanwhile a crowd of delighted farmers and horse-jockeys lined the Dunchurch Road to behold the scene. Rugby was full that day, which was the day of the great November horse-fair.

Ingles at once sent messengers post-haste for the masters, but they were all away shooting or otherwise amusing themselves. Then he sent into the town, where a recruiting party of soldiers happened just then to be, summoning them to his help. The men responded with alacrity. Ingles posted one of them before his door with fixed bayonet, and then the Black Tiger showed a white feather—he locked himself in. The boys triumphed around their bonfire, until an awful rumour was whispered among them: the enemy was coming. Some of the masters had returned, and a force was rapidly organised of special constables, farmers armed with horse-whips and other nondescript elements, with the recruiting sergeant to stiffen them. The sight of this serried host was too much for the rebels, who executed a strategic movement to the rear, and occupied the Island. This was at that time really an island, and the moat which surrounded it was about fifteen feet wide, and four or five feet deep. Here the rebels hastily took refuge, drew up the drawbridge, and bade defiance to the invaders. One

Mr. Butlin proceeded to read the Riot Act, and summoned the castle to surrender ; while this was being done, the soldiers stole round to the rear, and wading across the moat, drawn sword in hand, took the whole party prisoners. Then at length Dr. Ingles emerged from his study, the thunders of Jove upon his brow, and condign punishment fell on the captives. The floggings administered on that memorable occasion were for ever a sore subject with the victims ; and those who were expelled apparently blessed their good luck. One of the sufferers, and a ringleader in this Great Rebellion, soon afterwards entered the army, and served with distinction in the Peninsula and in Burmah. This was Lieut.-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, G.C.B., who showed more skill in his later career as a soldier than he did in this first attempt. Perhaps his experience as a *corpus vile* helped him to put down the rebellion of the slaves in Jamaica. Other schools have had their rebellions, but Rugby probably enjoys a unique distinction in the reading of the Riot Act, and in the presence of full-blown soldiers among the attacking party. It is noteworthy that no kind of reference occurs to this event in the Trustees' Book. It may be imagined how serious that mutiny must have been which they so solemnly rebuked during the Headmastership of Dr. James. The garrulous "Nimrod" calls it "awful," and declines to enlarge on the subject ; but James (he adds) learnt a lesson which he never forgot. It is amusing to find the story of this rebellion completely transformed in popular tradition. For many a year a

legend was current in the School of a battle fought between the boys and a regiment of Irish soldiers, in which the boys gained glory and great renown.¹

Foiled in this essay of real warfare, the School had recourse to playing at war. Just at this time all England was in fevers of apprehension lest a French army should land. Loyal subscriptions were sent in from all parts of the kingdom to aid in the national defence or insurance, and in 1798 the boys of Rugby School collected £52. 10s. for this purpose.² Volunteer forces were enrolled all over the country, whose strange weapons or head-gear may still sometimes be seen reposing peacefully in a country church. Rugby was not behindhand, and in 1803 a corps was formed in the town.³ There were over a hundred members in Rugby itself, and about sixty from the neighbouring villages. In the following year the School would seem to have followed suit,⁴ and its two companies might have been seen any day after school, drest in blue lapelled coats, cuffed and collared with scarlet, tin sheaths girt about their loins. They wielded thick wooden broadswords, with which (being on foot) they naturally practised the cavalry exercise. Occasionally they would divide into two armies, one to defend the Island and one to attack, and many a broken pate had those wooden swords to answer for. It must be admitted, the Rugby boys made the most of their weapons.

¹ *New Rugbeian*, ii. 187.

² Printed Receipt in *Register*, vol. i.

³ Roll and other documents among the *Papers*.

⁴ Pollock, *Life of W. C. Macready*, i. 15.

THE GREAT REBELLION 187

Of Ingles's pupils a very large number, as might be expected in the great war, entered the army or navy. Admiral Lord Somerville¹ served against the French and in the American War of 1813-14. Sir Willoughby Cotton,² leader of the Great Rebellion, has already been mentioned; he served in the army for more than half a century, and one of his aides-de-camp in the East was Henry Havelock. The Hon. Edward Henry Irby³ was captain of the 2nd Life Guards at Waterloo, Edward Holbeche⁴ was captain of the Enniskillens, and many of their old schoolfellows fought beside them. George James,⁵ a son of the late Head-master of Rugby, served in the Peninsula and in the second American War. Some of the Rugby boys of that day were in the tented field at an age when most boys are aspiring to play in their house fifteen; one of them had fought in nine pitched battles before he came of age. Among the deeds of these youthful heroes is one plucky feat which ought not to be forgotten. After the battle of Vittoria, Soult was attempting to raise the siege of Pampluna, which was then surrounded by a Spanish force. Lord Wellington brought up a brigade to check this movement, and arrived just when the opposing armies were engaged. Henry Hanmer,⁶ then aide to Sir Robert Hill, was sent on to announce the arrival of the English brigade. The shortest way lay across a bridge over the Arc, which had been blown up;

¹ Entered 1795.

² Entered 1795.

³ Entered 1796.

⁴ Entered 1796.

⁵ Entered 1804.

⁶ Entered 1799. See *Naval and Military Records*, p. 37.

the choice otherwise lying between going some miles round by a ford. Hanmer examined the bridge through his glass, and saw that the explosion had only destroyed the centre arch. As time was of great importance, he took the risk. Clapping spurs to his horse, he galloped under the walls of the town, through a hot fire, and came to the bridge. A yawning chasm now lay before him, but he put the horse at it, and just managed to clear the gap. Even then he was all but down, for the stones on the far side gave way, and the horse fell. But horse and man got up again, and Hanmer, waving his sword in the air, galloped away to complete his errand. If he learnt something of horsemanship by making his Head-master's horses leap over bars, as others had done, this daring deed might fairly have earned forgiveness.

In literature and scholarship none of the boys of this time would seem to have attained eminence; unless, perhaps, this may be said of Thomas Robinson,¹ afterwards Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, translator of the Bible into Persian, and Master of the Temple. But one genius of another kind was among them: this was William Charles Macready, the famous actor.² He lodged in the boarding-house of his cousin, Mr. Birch, and at first had a hard time of it.

The system of bullying (he writes) seemed to have banished humanity from most of the boys above me, or rather of those between me and the highest forms. I was fag to a

¹ Entered 1805.

² Entered 1803.

young man of the name of Ridge, an Irishman, who was a very harsh task-master; and I was made so uncomfortable in the Common Hall, that, but for the refuge of my own snug bedroom, I should have been almost despondent. . . . From the bullying endured, the first year of my term was real misery.¹

The praepostors used to abuse their power shamefully, and Macready has a tale of a roasting even worse than that in *Tom Brown*, which made the victim seriously ill. But he soon began to rise rapidly in the School, and forgot his old terrors in the joys of stage management. One amusement of the bigger boys was in getting up plays, which were acted to their schoolfellows in Bucknill's. Ere long Macready was to the fore, of course, in these performances; and he gives a description of them:—

They were very fairly done, only that it was necessary at the end of every scene to drop the curtain in order to change one for another. In the course of time these plays were removed to a sort of hall at the Schoolhouse, called the "Over School," the reading and sitting room of the Schoolhouse Fifth and Sixth Form boys. It opened into a large bedroom, which went by the name of "Paradise," with nine beds appropriated to the head boys, and was very convenient to the actors for dressing and undressing. The actors in these plays made application through me to my father for the loan of books, and afterwards for dresses, with which, to their great delight, he readily furnished them. In grateful

¹ *Life*, i. 2.

testimony they considered themselves obliged to give me, although in the Under School, parts in their performances, and my theatrical career at Rugby was begun as prompter—a distinguished post for an Under School boy ; and I ran through the characters of Dame Ashfield in "Speed the Plough," Mrs. Bulgruddery in "John Bull," the Jew in Dibdin's "School for Prejudice," and Briefwit in the farce of "Weathercock."

Macready had a great respect for Ingles, and "liked him very much, stern and inaccessible as he seemed to all of us." One day as Macready was playing at football in the Close, the Head-master called him out, and bidding him keep on his hat, walked along by his side. What follows shall be told in Macready's words.

He inquired of me what my father designed for me. I told him I was intended for the law. He continued : "Have you not thought of your father's profession?" "No, sir." "Should you not like it?" "No, sir, I should wish to go to the bar." "Are you quite certain you should not wish to go on the stage?" "Quite certain, sir ; I very much dislike it, and the thought of it." "Well," he added, "I am glad of it. But if you had had any thoughts that way I should have wished to give you some advice, which I am glad to believe is now unnecessary."

What that advice would have been, it is not difficult to gather. Macready, it is clear, had not yet found out his vocation ; but in the next chapter we shall see a change, when the fostering care of Wooll gives play to his talents.

Another amusement much affected by the Rugby

boys was coaching.¹ Those were the days of the Four-in-Hand Club; and as the boys had emulated their elders in patronising the ring, so now they got up their own coaching clubs.

Mr. Over, the school carpenter, was appointed coach-maker; and rival chariots, drawn by teams of from four to twelve fags in harness, and tooled by a praepostor, raced round the school close, or took longer drives to the neighbouring villages. Once a return coach from Dunchurch overtook an old dame coming to Rugby market with eggs and butter. In spite of all her attempts to decline the honour, she was hoisted into the seat beside the driver, and carried into the town in triumph.

It is amusing to find house contests of this kind waged with as much excitement as a football match. Bucknill's and Birch's were reported the fastest teams. As in the hare and hounds, so in coaching, the praepostors seem to have had the best of it. This youthful training had its effect, and Rugby turned out one of the best gentlemen coachmen of the day in "Long Parry" of Llanrhaiadr,² who gave to this pursuit what time he could spare from winning Chancellor's medals and prizes for Latin verse.

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 371.

² Entered 1784.

X

THE NEW SCHOOLS

JOHN WOOLL, D.D., 1806-1828

THERE were a large number of candidates for the post made vacant by Ingles's resignation, and among them a man who soon was to become the most famous school-master of his generation. This was Samuel Butler, the Head-master of Shrewsbury School. Butler has been already spoken of in these pages as the ablest scholar among the pupils of Thomas James. As having been educated at Rugby School, he had by statute a prior claim to election, other things being equal. But for some reason he was not chosen by the Trustees; it is said because of the severity of his discipline. Butler was deeply hurt by his rejection, and justly so. In later years many of the Trustees must have seen that they had made a mistake. Yet, fortunately for the School, the mistake was not fatal to Rugby; for the man chosen was worthy of the place on his merits, and only the brilliancy of his rival could have suggested to any that a mistake had been made. John Wooll was "a perfect gentleman and a good disciplinarian," says one of his pupils, and he seems to have won the respect and affection of all whom he taught.

The new Head-master¹ entered upon his duties at the beginning of 1807. He had been several years Master of Midhurst Grammar School; and though of no great mark as a scholar, he was a thoroughly good schoolmaster. He was one of those men whose bland and almost jovial appearance covers a reserve of power, which careless observers would not suspect to be there. He is indeed a strong contrast to his two immediate predecessors, Ingles the gloomy, and the excitable James. It is curious how this difference between the three comes out in their handwriting and composition. James writes in a small irregular hand, his letters running into each other in such a way as often to be almost illegible. His manuscript is full of erasures, corrections, and additions; his thoughts throng, and one ripples over the next like little waves on the seashore. He is garrulous to a degree, and shows a delightful and quaint simplicity which reveals him in every line. On the other hand, the one or two letters of Ingles which are preserved are without signature, and go straight to the point with grim Spartan brevity. Wooll uses a neat and regular style of writing, pointed like that in vogue years ago in ladies' schools; there is some formality of phrase, a studious restraint, and no self-revelation. To judge from the letters, few would imagine James to have been the genius; yet so

¹ Son of John Wooll, Winchester, *arm.* Balliol College: matriculated Jan. 17, 1785, age 17; B.A. from New, 1790; M.A. 1794; B.D. and D.D. 1807; Rector of Blackford, Somerset, 1796; Master of Midhurst Free Grammar School, 1799-1806; died Nov. 23, 1833.—*Alumni Ozonienses.*

it was. In him was a strength which held in check his natural irritability and fussiness when it came to action; but when he took up his pen, the bow relaxed.

It is odd to find the prim and precise Dr. Wooll arriving at Rugby in a tandem, with his servant "Thos" mounted upon the leader. "Thos" was for the next half century a familiar figure to all Rugbeians, a storehouse of ancient tradition, and a veritable link with the past.¹

In the first year of Dr. Wooll's mastership the charge for board was increased to twenty-five guineas per annum,² and an entrance fee of two guineas was ordered for each non-Foundationer, with one guinea paid to the tutor by each boy that had a tutor. The boarding charge was subsequently put at thirty guineas,³ and this may explain why the number of boys in the School fell off towards the end of Wooll's time. Under Wooll the School attained the number of 381⁴ in one year, the highest number ever yet known at Rugby; and it quite kept up its reputation for sound learning. There were the nine assistant masters, and the School ranked second among the public schools in England.

Wooll lost no time in carrying out three improvements. The first was, to establish prizes in Latin and English verse. At his request the Trustees voted ten guineas⁵

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 376; *Book of Rugby School*, p. 143 (portrait).

² Order of Aug. 4, 1807.

³ Letter of John Wooll, Jan. 26, 1812; Order of Jan. 26, 1813. One cause was the still rising cost of food.

⁴ *The Public Schools*, p. 382.

⁵ Order of August 4, 1807.

for a copy of Latin hexameters, and six guineas for an English poem, both to be awarded at the Speech Day in June. These prizes continued to be voted each year at the Head-master's request, during the time that Wooll was in office. From time to time special prizes were also voted to boys who had done well in the examinations.¹ At the same time the Head-master seems to have interested himself in the internal economy of the boarding-houses. Such an arrangement as this, by which boys lodged with persons not directly responsible for their behaviour, must often have proved unsatisfactory; and although the true solution of the difficulty was not hit upon until Arnold's time, the Head-master was directed to see that prayers were held regularly in them. This was a beginning which afterwards led to better things. The third improvement was a pension scheme started in 1824² for assistant masters, since they had no emolument beyond their salary, and "the uncertain advantage arising from their profits." At the same time a substantial addition was made to the salary of five masters, who had been on the staff for periods varying from twenty-four to seven-and-thirty years. Mr. Sale, the writing-master, was appointed librarian in 1824.³

But the most important event of this period was the rebuilding of the whole block of school buildings. It had long been felt that some change was necessary.

¹ Order of Aug. 7, 1809, and see 1816, 1818, *et al.*

² Order of July 6, 1824.

³ Order of July 6, 1824: £5, 5s. per annum.

James found it as much as he could do to house his classes, and was reduced to using an old almshouse for one of them, sheds for others, and a barn for the chapel. He had erected some new rooms, together with a long line of sheds for shelter in rough weather. What with these and the barns and hedges, "cow-lodges" and "hog-lodges," the School must have looked somewhat like a small chapel gone astray in a large farmyard. The space now occupied by the New Quadrangle was partly covered with tumble-down cottages and their appurtenances; along the back of these ran the shelter-sheds. The Schoolhouse was not conveniently built for its purpose, and the front was not lovely to look upon. Add to this that the Trustees had in hand a very large sum of money, being the surplus income invested in good securities. The accumulations now amounted to more than £40,000. Conduit Close, which two hundred years before was worth £8 a year, was now worth more than £2000; and the income of the School altogether was nearly £3500, and more than double the expenditure.

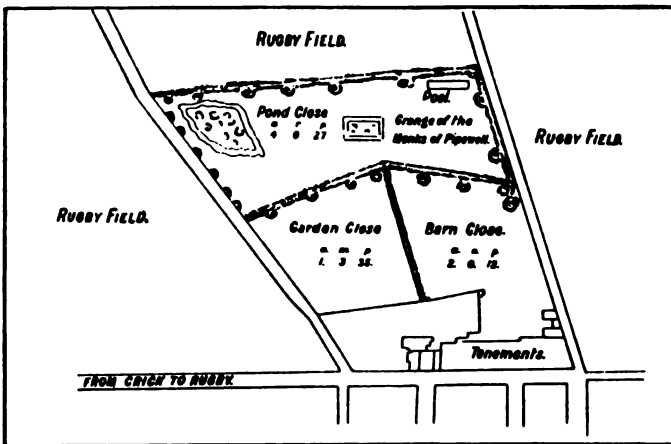
The plan had been some years maturing. In 1799, as we have seen,¹ a Committee had been appointed to procure plans and estimates for building a new house for the Master, a chapel, and schools, together with such other buildings as should be thought necessary. The Committee set to work, and in 1808² an architect named Hakewill³ was fixed upon to do the building.

¹ Above, p. 182.

² Order of May 12, 1808.

³ So spelt in his autograph, July 20, 1819.

In the next year building commenced, and took six years in completion. We can trace its gradual progress by the gradual increase of the sums paid year by year for insurance against fire. Dr. Wooll seems to have accomplished the difficult feat of carrying on the school work all the same. Each school was in use to the last



THE SCHOOL PREMISES.

From a plan drawn by T. Wilson, 1750. (The Sibyl, No. 2.)

moment; then exeunt boys and enter workmen, and the place which in one hour echoed to the melodious sounds of Latin declensions, echoed in the next to pick-axe and hammer.

The sum of £10,000 which was at first asked for soon proved insufficient. Johnson's Big School, sound

as it doubtless was, had to come down after a very short lease of life, not one-third of the time during which the first Big School had lasted. So many new schools were required, that in the end the cost mounted up to some £35,000. In 1816, after the house and schools were completed, the Close was made into one large playground. In the estate bought in 1749 there were three fields: the Barn Close, towards the Dunchurch Road; the Garden Close, by the house; and beyond these the Pond Close, which contained the Island, and near it the ruins of a moated grange and a square pool once belonging to the monks of Pipewell. In 1816 the fences between these various fields were levelled, and a plain piece of eight acres or so thus made ready for games. It is interesting to note that this Close (the present playground less New Big Side) was exactly the same size as the third part of Conduit Field left to the School by Lawrence Sheriffe. Although the hedges went down, the trees were left standing, and these have ever since been one of the chief beauties of Rugby. They are even now a fine sight to look upon; but those who knew the Close before the great storms of 1881 and 1895 cry Ichabod. In the centre of this ground stood the famous Three Trees. The boys themselves assisted in levelling part of the Close for a cricket field.¹ Paul

¹ "July 8, 1823. Ordered that the Clerk do pay to the young gentlemen at the School the sum of three pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence, which they have expended in levelling parts of the cricket ground."



THE QUADRANGLE, 1816.
(From Ackermann's "Public Schools.")

Saumarez¹ is credited with having been the first to introduce cricket into the School; but this cannot be true, for Nimrod² recollects cricket among the sports and pastimes of the previous reign.

An addition to the school property was made in 1825,³ when the "Close and gardens opposite the School House garden" were bought for two thousand guineas. From time to time the old tenements adjoining the School were bought as opportunity served, and thus the first step was taken towards the enlargement afterwards carried out.

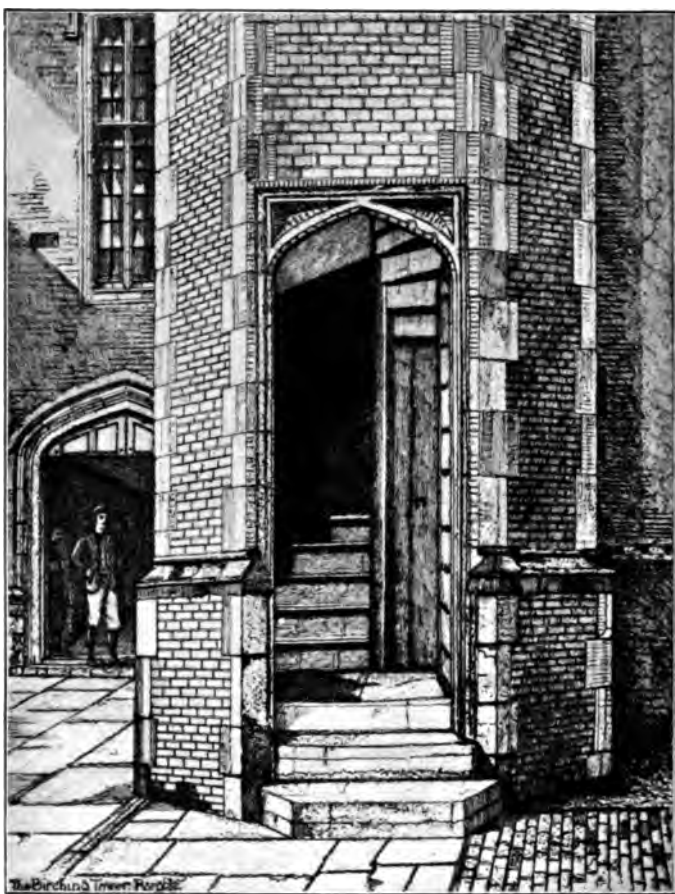
The block thus built by Hakewill consisted of the Old Quadrangle and the Master's House. The house has a picturesque appearance, owing to the turreted doorway, and now also to the ivy which covers the walls. The door opens into an octagonal hall, with oak panelling, on which are emblazoned the arms of those who were Trustees at the time of building, and others connected with the School. Living rooms are found on this floor, one of them the Head-master's study, with its memories of Dr. Arnold. The study can be entered by another door in the corner, which leads up to it from the open by a winding staircase in a second small turret. This turret door will be familiar to readers of *Tom Brown's School Days*, and by this many a boy has entered with the most gloomy anticipations, often fulfilled. From the Master's part of the Schoolhouse a paved corridor leads

¹ Entered 1807. See *Register*, p. 97.

² Above, p. 170.

³ Order of Sept. 27, 1825.





TURRET OF THE BIRCHING SCHOOL.

(From an etching by E. J. Burrow.)

To face page 201

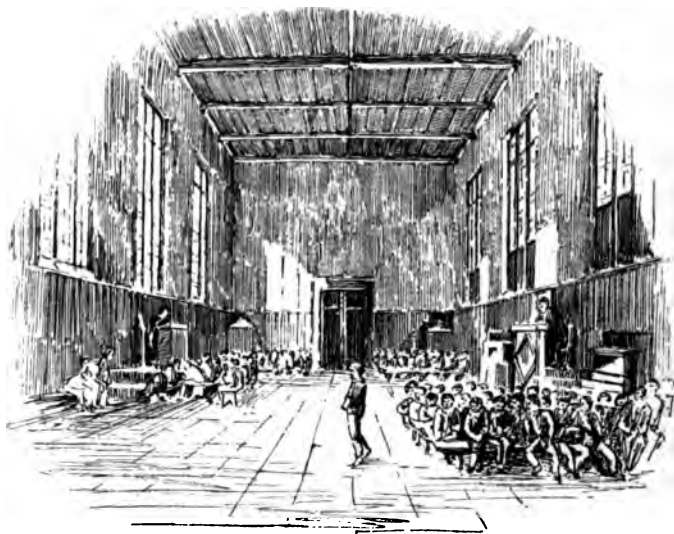
past some of the studies into the Schoolhouse Hall. This is a "long, rather lofty room," wainscoted part way up in oak, which is black with age and elbow-grease. Strong oak tables and benches run the length of the room, and experience has shown that these require to be firmly screwed to the floor. At the upper end, where a window looks out upon the Close, is a raised platform, with another table and bench. Here sit the Headmaster (when he shares a meal with the boys), the head of the house on his left, and the other house potentates in a grim line beside him. On the east side is a huge fireplace, screened off by a fence of strong iron bars. Within this screen took place many a roasting famous in story or tradition. This hall stands on the site of Johnson's Big School, and resembles it closely, except that the south end is not rounded. As in Johnson's School, so here, rooms occupy the storey above; and almost above it is the Fifth Form Room. As we have seen that Johnson copied the original school of Lawrence Sheriffe in its main features, it follows that the Schoolhouse Hall and the rooms above it resemble that school. The Hall thus forms the one link of continuity in the school buildings, joining the present pile to the first. Over the Hall rose a tower containing a bell and a clock, which at that time (while the front gate was low) could be seen from the High Street.

A large door opens from the Hall into the Schoolhouse Quadrangle. Along the south side of this quadrangle is a row of four schools, opening upon cloisters,

with studies and dormitories above. One of these is now the Armoury. At right angles to this on the east runs another row of cloisters; and on the west is Hakewill's Big School, now called Old Big School. On the western side is a large gateway, which, as Hakewill built it, had no rooms above. There were schools on the ground-floor of this side. A projection beyond the block of schools was built on the southern side, ending in a turret which by a winding stairway leads up to a curious little room, with a window at each end, and a good draught through it. This room has sad associations for many an old Rugbeian. Its peaceful hours are past as a form-room; and here it was that the famous Tom Evans, George Cotton, and Bonamy Price used to interest or amuse their pupils. But it is known to the fates by another name; for here, during almost a century past, execution has been done upon convicted criminals.

We now enter the Old Big School by one of its massive doors, studded with iron nails. The room is long and high, and panelled part way up in oak. Here, until lately, two or more forms used to work together, as may be seen in the picture opposite. The same picture shows two huge fireplaces, made on the same principle as that of the Schoolhouse Hall, already described; but, like the rest of the school buildings, it is now warmed by hot-water pipes. Three of the four thrones for the Masters have also disappeared, leaving a single throne in solitary glory at the south end. At the north end of the room are boards bearing the names of exhibitors from

the year 1829 onward, among which may be seen names not unknown to fame: Bradley, Conington, Waddington, Hort, Goschen, Bowen, Sidgwick. Along the walls are boards with the names of the different form masters, opposite which the boys range themselves at "Co" or



INTERIOR OF BIG SCHOOL, 1816.

calling-over, on half-holiday afternoons. In this Big School morning prayers used to be said, and here the boys were assembled whenever it was necessary to address them together. Here too, from 1814 to 1820, divine service was held for the School on Sundays.

It would be easy to find fault with the architecture of the old buildings. Architecture was in a parlous state at the beginning of this century, and one who tried to imitate the castellated style of the fifteenth century was bound to err in details. Moreover, the mock battlements, which never could be of practical use for anything except for schoolboys' hide-and-seek, may be in bad taste ; nevertheless, the effect is undoubtedly good. A building thoroughly sound, twice as strong as it need be, with materials all of the very best, and no trouble spared, must at any rate win respect ; and moreover, the appearance is striking. Whether it is seen from the front, the strong gateway now dominating the street ; or from the Close, a long low mass of rectangular outline, with high windows, and plenty of play with light and shadow : the sight is at once impressive and pleasing. This is especially so when the elms are in leaf, and half hide the massive pile with green ; or when the Virginia creeper which clings to it is all one red. These buildings were made to last ; and on looking closely at their strength, one is tempted to wonder whether the architect was thinking of Napoleon and the invasion of England, or perhaps had not forgotten the Great School Rebellion of ten years before.

A chapel was, as we have seen, part of the original plan ; but it was left until the more pressing needs of the School were met. This done, Mr. Hakewill entered into a contract with the Trustees to build a chapel.¹ It was

¹ Autograph in *Order-Book*, July 20, 1819.

to be ninety feet long, by thirty broad and thirty feet high, and was to cost £7500. A famous relic of antiquity disappeared when the chapel was begun. This was a great elm known as Treen's Tree. Its fall in 1818¹ inspired one of those who had often sheltered beneath it to break out into rapturous if uninspired verse. Its "classic arms" fell, its "summit strewed the plain," and the wood was used in panelling the vestry.

Dr. Wooll laid the foundation-stone of the new chapel, and in two years it was completed. It was built of brick, with stone dressings, and heavy tracery in the windows. It had a door at the west end leading into the street, and at the same end was the ante-chapel, with an organ-loft above it. Another door led into the ante-chapel from the south. The north-east corner had a turret (Hakewill evidently loved his turrets, as former architects doted on pillared porches) and a small vestry. Within, the chapel looked like a long room, having a flat ceiling, and nothing but the windows to relieve the straight lines. At the west end were eight stalls in oak, two canopied, of which one was used by the Head-master and one by the chaplain. These stalls still exist in the present chapel, and stand in the same position. Above was a gallery, with seats in front for some of the lower forms, and the organ loft. The seats were arranged facing, like a college chapel, and the pulpit (the same which is still used) was towards the east. At each corner of the east end was a huge square

¹ Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 93 ; see also 96-98.

pew, one for the Head-master's family, and the other for the assistants. The windows were filled with plain glass, and the ceiling (which was made of plaster) was actually painted to imitate boards. This imitation painting was the one feature in common between the first Rugby Chapel and Milan Cathedral. Two mural tablets were placed here in Wooll's time: one of Edward Lecky, a boy who was accidentally killed by falling from a tree in the Close; the other to the Rev. George Loggin, chaplain and assistant master. The monument of Dr. James was placed in this chapel at a later date, and opposite was placed a similar monument to Dr. Wooll, by Westmacott. In 1822 the organist was instructed to train eight boys in singing at the chapel, and was allowed ten pounds a year for so doing.¹ This choir was dressed in surplices, and each boy was paid forty shillings a year for his services. A new organ was presented in 1823,² and in 1824³ Frederick Marshall was appointed organist at a salary of fifty pounds. Mr. Anstey was made chaplain in 1825, receiving ninety pounds a year.⁴ In 1824, for the first time, a school hymn-book was published, and Rugby appears to have been the first school to have one of its own.

The architectural style of the Old School Chapel has been much derided. It cannot be denied that the "Georgian Gothic" bears little resemblance to the true Gothic, and is not a thing of beauty; and yet this first chapel, modest and unobtrusive, harmonised better in

¹ Order of July 9, 1822.

² Order of July 6, 1824.

³ Order of July 8, 1823.

⁴ Order of July 5, 1825.

both colour and size with the rest of the School than the more pretentious erections which afterwards took its place.

Two more events of Wooll's mastership must be mentioned. In 1827,¹ Hakewill's plan was accepted for building a school library at the cost of £1350 ; and this we shall see carried out in the next reign. The second was the founding of a prize for Greek verse, named after Dr. James, and subscribed for by his old pupils. This was done in the same year. On September 10, 1827, Dr. Wooll resigned.

It had been for many years the practice to hold a dinner or supper for old Rugbeians at Rugby on the day of the speeches. One of these is advertised in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for May 8, 1784 :²—

April 17, 1784.

RUGBY SCHOOL.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Gentlemen educated at Rugby School will be held on Tuesday, the 1st of June. The ladies and gentlemen who intend to favour the Meeting with their company, if they wish to hear the speeches, are desired to be at the School-house at 12 o'clock. An ordinary will be provided at the George for the ladies, and at the Bear for the gentlemen.

The Rev. Dr. CLARE,
The Rev. Mr. KNIGHTLEY, } *Stewards.*

In Wooll's time these gatherings were held at the *Freemasons' Tavern*, or afterwards at the *Spread Eagle*.

¹ Order of July 3, 1827.

² *Sibyl*, No. 20.

Sometimes the jovial Wooll himself would preside ; and there appears to have been usually a topical song composed for the occasion, after the fashion of the "*Vive la*" of later days. One of these songs is still preserved,¹ written by Lyttelton. The chorus of "Sheriff's Song," as it is called, is somewhat bacchanalian :—

Let Rugby's true sons, at the Free Masons' Tavern,
Booze as stoutly as Polypheme did in his cavern ;
And mark, boys, the toast—be it stav'd ter and quater,
Here's the memory of old Lawrence our princely Fundator.

The glories of the ancients pall before those of Rugby ; and by some process of legerdemain, Shakespeare is absorbed into the magic circle. As for rival schools—

Our Greek and our Latin
Would soon come so pat in,
Who should hear us would think we were Antients a-chatting ;
And I'll prove we can match, though it kindle their choler,
Any Westminster, Eton, or Wykehamist scholar.

The Trustees had clearly not wasted their six guineas.

From the date of Wooll's accession a record has been kept of the university honours of Rugbeians.² By this document it appears that among his pupils were sixteen Fellows of different colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, one Senior Wrangler, one Ireland scholar, one Craven scholar at Cambridge, one Chancellor's medallist, and four Bell scholars. A university prize for Latin verse

¹ In the possession of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.

² MS. in Rugby School Library ; see also notes to *Register*.

was won four times, for Latin essay twice; there was one Newdigate prizeman and two Members' prizemen. This shows clearly that the work of Thomas James was bearing its fruit, thanks to the care and skill of his successors. But university honours are small things in the life of a nation, and there is no need to dwell on these. Dr. Wooll had his share of the honours of the great world. Among his pupils were statesmen, as Edward John Walhouse,¹ afterwards Lord Hatherton, and Secretary of State for Ireland; Frederick James Halliday,² Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during the Indian Mutiny; Edward Horsman,³ a Lord of the Treasury and Chief Secretary for Ireland; Sir James Hudson, K.C.B.,⁴ Minister Plenipotentiary at Florence and Turin; and Roundell Palmer,⁵ afterwards Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Lord Chancellor. There were future scholars and antiquarians, such as Sir Thomas Phillipps;⁶ Francis Knyvett Leighton,⁷ Warden of All Souls; Henry Halford Vaughan,⁸ Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford; and Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne.⁹ Others became eminent physicians, such as Sir Charles Locock;¹⁰ divines such as Thomas Legh Cloughton,¹¹ first Bishop of St. Albans, and Edward Field,¹² afterwards Bishop of Newfoundland; and Joseph Miles Berkeley¹³ was afterwards famous as a naturalist.

The number of those who entered the services is very

¹ Entered 1806.
Entered 1823.
Entered 1816.
Entered 1810.

² Entered 1814.
⁵ Entered 1823.
⁸ Entered 1823.
¹¹ Entered 1819.
¹³ Entered 1817.

³ Entered 1819.
⁶ Entered 1807.
⁹ Entered 1819.
¹² Entered 1814.

great. Somerville Waldemar Burges¹ was a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards at Waterloo, and had previously fought in the Peninsula. Francis Wheler² raised a regiment of irregular cavalry, served with distinction in the Afghan war of 1841, and commanded in the Bundelcand expedition of 1859. Another Rugbeian who distinguished himself in the Afghan campaign was David Rattray,³ who was in the defence of Jellalabad and the chief actions which followed its relief. A third, Robert Trevor,⁴ was murdered in 1841 at Cabul with poor Macnaghten. Horatio Shirley,⁵ afterwards Major-General, commanded at the Alma and fought at Inkermann, winning honourable mention on both occasions. William Hayhurst Hall,⁶ lieutenant of the *Alligator*, showed conspicuous gallantry in storming forts in Burmah and exterminating the Burmese pirates, and was present in the *Thunderer* at the bombardment of Acre in 1840.

In the previous chapter mention was made of W. C. Macready and the beginnings of the drama at Rugby. If Ingles knew of the surreptitious performances that went on, and winked at them under his grim brows, he did nothing to encourage them. But with Wooll's benign influence the young tragedian's light comes forth from beneath its bushel. Macready's imagination had already been fired by the performance of a "wonderful boy, a miracle of beauty, grace, and genius," whom Macready's father had brought to England. He acted in Belfast and

¹ Entered 1808.

² Entered 1810.

³ Entered 1827.

⁴ Entered 1813.

⁵ Entered 1820.

⁶ Entered 1811.

Edinburgh before crowded houses, and Betty, "the young Roscius," became the rage throughout the country. So charming was he that he even made people forget Bonaparte and the dreaded invasion. One day Macready and young Tom Birch were smuggled into a chaise, and went over to Leicester to see him act in *Richard III.* The two truants saw the play out, then mounting into their chaise, drove back to Rugby in the night, and got back in time for first lesson. This was perhaps the turning-point in Macready's career; but at all events, we soon find him in the thick of it at Rugby.

On October 15, 1807, the boys' company acted *The Castle Spectre* in Over School, the following being the cast:—

<i>Earl Osmond</i>	T. ROBINSON (afterwards Master of the Temple).
<i>Earl Percy</i>	G. RICKETTS (Sir G. W. Ricketts, Judge of the Supreme Court, Madras).
<i>Kenrick</i>	HOPKINS.
<i>Father Philip</i>	WILLIS (Prebendary of Wells).
<i>Reginald</i>	} doubled by W. C. MACREADY.
<i>Motley</i>	
<i>Hassan</i>	WALHOUSE (Lord Hatherton).
<i>Saib</i>	H. ROBINSON (Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge).
<i>Muley</i>	W. AYLING.
<i>Allan</i>	HON. E. FINCH (British Chaplain in Ceylon).
<i>Evelina</i>	R. TWOPENNY.
<i>Angela</i>	W. DICKENS (Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Warwickshire).
<i>Alice</i>	H. W. WHINFIELD.

Not only did the company act this play to their school-fellows, but they were actually allowed to give a performance for the town after locking-up. Just before Macready left, *The Revenge* was acted in Dr. Wooll's own school, before the Doctor and "Mother Wooll," most of the masters, and a number of friends. Macready was Zanga, and Hastings Robinson was Don Manuel. Macready had hardly left Rugby a year and a half when he made his début on the public stage at Birmingham, in the character of Romeo. Some little time after he appeared as Hamlet, by Wooll's special request, and Wooll, with several of the masters, went to Birmingham on purpose to see him. Wooll entertained the whole party at dinner before the play.

Forty years later, Macready paid his last visit to Rugby.¹ It was at the time when some enterprising American wished to buy Shakespeare's house at Stratford, and to transport it bodily to the New World. A fund was being collected in England to buy it and make it national property, and in aid of this fund Macready read the play of *Hamlet* before the School. He was received with enthusiasm, and heard with attention, and retired with a cheque for fifty pounds in his pocket. His last performance was *Macbeth*, and he considered it his best. He retired in 1851, and died at Cheltenham in 1873, keeping to the last the kindest memories of his old Head-master. "I think of him with great regard," he says; "he was very kind to me, and greatly liked by the boys of gentlemanly character."

¹ Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 116. See *Big Side Records* of the date.

We are now within the range of Mr. M. H. Bloxam's reminiscences, and his scattered papers are a veritable storehouse of interesting tales. In 1813¹ he made his first appearance at Rugby, a small urchin in the "skeleton dress," consisting of jacket close buttoned, with a frill round his neck, and trousers (for the old knee-breeches were already disappearing). The School must have presented a motley appearance, with Dr. Wooll and his powdered hair, Mr. Sleath in a cocked hat, the big boys in white duck trousers and green or blue swallow-tail coats with metal buttons. Even for games the ordinary dress was used, and all that a boy did by way of preparation was to throw off his coat and tall hat. Caps were a thing unknown. The condition of the boys after a scrummage, or a good cross-country run, must have been enough to scare any fond mother out of her senses. The runs at this period were often enlivened by some refreshment at the other end. There used to be a run every year after the prizes had been awarded, and the winners were expected to refresh the whole *posse comitatus* there assembled. Thus, in the great Prize Poem Run in 1816 the two prizemen stood treat to hares, hounds, and huntsmen at a certain inn at Newbold, where they drank as much bad beer as they could contain. On the way back the potation had its effect, and with one accord the boys leapt into a plantation and tore up each a young sapling; but they paid dearly for the fun. Those that did not like beer could climb into a farmyard and milk somebody's cow.

¹ *Rugby*, p. 81 foll., and papers in the *Meteor* and other periodicals.

Rugby boys were still as pugnacious as ever, and some daring few risked all pains and penalties to obtain private lessons from any bruiser of repute who might be in Rugby. By this means they might perhaps attain to the coveted position of Cock of their house, or even Cock of the School. In an old house at the corner of Sheep Street¹ lived old Mother Treen, whose three sons, Tom, Joe, and John, were a redoubtable trio. Opposite was a boarding-house kept by Mr. Stanley, then the writing-master, and three "swells" of this house, two Blewitts and a Proby, challenged the Treen Trio, or were challenged by them, to decide the superiority of town or school in one fell battle. A field was chosen for the meeting, and the champions stripped, several other couples joining in the fun. Then—

Proby young, and Blewitts twain,
Wrestled with sons of Treen,
And other chieftains on the plain
Of Lawford, now were seen.

They had not been at it above twenty minutes, and were just warming to their work, when a cry was raised, "Wooll's coming!" Like the insubstantial fabric of a vision the crowd melted away, Horatii and Curiatii fled in six different directions, and the championship had to remain undecided. Not only against the "town louts" did Rugby boys vent their wrath, but, when chance offered, even against their own masters. There were barrings out

¹ The site is now occupied by a chemist's shop.

and lockings in, "Rebellion" (*sic*) chalked up on this door, and "Blood" on that. Even a worm will turn, much more a fag; and in 1822 the fags, having been unjustly punished for some seditious squibs, defied both masters and praepostors for some time. They were at length reduced to submission, some were expelled, and many more left in disgust. On another occasion the Lower Fourth had a spree of its own.¹ All the boys left their school together in the midst of a lesson, except one who happened to be standing beside the Master's desk. Prompt and dire was the vengeance that fell on the sinners. At three the praepostors were assembled, the Lower Fourth Form called up, and Wooll flogged the whole of them from first to last, including the innocent boy who did not go out with the rest. The despatch was a marvel: the whole thirty-eight were begun and done in a quarter of an hour. Although so kindly and jovial-looking, the Doctor was a rare hand with the birch. Most appropriate was the motto one of his pupils proposed for the place of execution, "Much cry and little Wooll." It sometimes happened, however, that the outside world attacked the masters, and then, in the true English fashion, the boys ceased from baiting them, and took up the cudgels on their behalf. One poor writing-master was occasionally in difficulties about money; but no bailiff durst show his nose inside the school precincts, he would have been bonneted and hustled out in a trice.

When they were tired of the prize-ring and "rebellion,"

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 380.

the boys turned on their own kind. The path of learning is thorny for the best of us, but at Rugby it lay through a veritable vale of terrors. No boy could pass into a higher form without enduring some ordeal which recalls the altars of Sparta or the tests of manhood among North American Indians. For the lower forms it was a chairing, accompanied with most unpleasant experiences. On entering the Remove in the Upper School from the Fourth, new-comers had to run the gauntlet several times up and down the Big School, while the boys of their new form buffeted them with handkerchiefs tied into hard "Winchester knots." For the "Buffets," as this was called, the wary would wrap themselves round in boards or book covers, secured by string upon all tender portions of their frame, which must have caused a delightful din. Boys entering the Fifth were "clodded" along the sheds which then stood between the old barn and the schools. Fatigue parties of fags were kept hard at it to provide ammunition, by moulding clods of mud from the square pool in the Close. It was a fine opportunity for paying off old scores; and the more unpopular the boy, the clods were the harder. In 1814 these charming old customs were stopped, and commuted for a "guttle." The new-comer stood treat, and provided a feast for all the boys of his new form who were in the same house as himself. Meat was provided on the sly, and cooked by the fags in some remote study. Some houses kept a battered collection of pots and pans, forks and spoons, for these occasions, renewed only when a successful master's raid lifted them and

distributed the spoil among the almsmen of Lawrence Sheriffe.

One or two glimpses have been vouchsafed before this of cricket and football at Rugby, but nothing sufficient to give any idea of the game played. One thing, however, seems certain: there was no traditional game in Rugby School before 1749, when the first playground was bought. In Wooll's time the game of football was still simple and primitive, and was played on the north-west corner of the Close, adjoining the Dunchurch Road. When the chapel was built it became necessary to move the ground to the front, just south of the schoolhouse garden. The method of procedure on Big Side is best told in Mr. Bloxam's words: ¹—

All fags were stopped on going out after three o'clock calling over (I should add that the fifth form only, which was then next to the sixth form, was exempt from fagging) and compelled to go into the Close, except those specially exempt, by having to attend the French Master, Drawing Master, or Drill Sergeant, the times for which, being extras, were taken out of the half holidays. . . . When, then, all had assembled in the Close, two of the best players in the School commenced choosing in one for each side. . . . After choosing in about a score on each side, a somewhat rude division was made of the remaining fags, half of whom were sent to keep goal on the one side, the other half to the opposite goal for the same purpose. Any fag, though not specially chosen in, might

¹ *Meteor*, No. 157 (1880); quoted also in the pamphlet, *Origin of Rugby Football*, p. 8, to which the reader is referred for more evidence.

follow up on that side to the goal of which he was attached. Some of these were ready enough to mingle in the fray, others judiciously kept half back, watching their opportunity for a casual kick, which was not unfrequently awarded them. Few and simple were the rules of the game: touch on the sides of the ground was marked out, and no one was allowed to run with the ball in his grasp towards the opposite goal. It was Football, and not handball, plenty of hacking, but little struggling. As to costume, there were neither flannels or caps; the players simply doffed their hats and coats, or jackets, which were heaped together on either side near the goals till the game was over. All were scratch matches, one boarding-house was never pitted against another, and there was no Cock House. There were no Old Rugbeian matches.

The distinctive feature of the Rugby game seems to have owed its origin to chance. A boy named William Webb Ellis,¹ a Foundationer, was playing in a Bigside game in the year 1823, when he caught the ball.

This being so (writes Mr. Bloxam), according to the then rules, he ought to have retired back as far as he pleased, without parting with the ball, for the combatants on the opposite side could only advance to the spot where he had caught the ball, and were unable to rush forward till he had either punted it or had placed it for some one else to kick, for it was by means of these placed kicks that most of the goals were in those days kicked; but the moment the ball touched the ground the opposite side might rush on. Ellis, for the first time, disregarded this rule, and on catching the ball, instead of retiring backwards, rushed forwards with the ball in his hands

¹ Entered 1816.

towards the opposite goal, with what result as to the game I know not ; neither do I know how this infringement of a well-known rule was followed up, or when it became, as it is now, a standing rule.

It was probably a mere act of bravado, and yet it was destined to influence the whole future of the Rugby game, and to place Ellis among the immortals. For a time no more is heard of the bold innovation ; then running with the ball is tolerated under certain conditions ; and lastly, it becomes the rule.

XI

THE NEW SPIRIT

THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D.,¹ 1829–1842

It was not without much reluctance, and some doubt of his own powers, that Thomas Arnold was prevailed upon to become a candidate for Rugby School. He had previously had no experience of school work, though for some years he had been working as a private tutor at Laleham. In this capacity he showed the same enthusiasm as he afterwards showed in the great work of his life, and on his pupils he produced the same deep impressions. He not only directed their studies, but shared their amusements, bathing with them and playing "like a boy," with his "leaping-pole and gallows," and entering fully into their life. But to the world he was entirely unknown, although such as knew him had formed a very high estimate of his powers. His testimonials spoke in his favour in the strongest manner, and in one of them, Dr. Hawkins (afterwards Provost of Oriel) foretold that

¹ Son of William Arnold, West Cowes. Oxford, Corpus Christi College: matriculated Feb. 22, 1811, age 15; B.A. 1814; Fellow of Oriel, 1815; M.A. 1817; B.D. and D.D. 1828; Regius Professor of Modern History, 1841–42.—*Alumni Oxonienses*.



THOMAS ARNOLD.

(From a painting by Richmond, in New Big School, Rugby.)

To face page 220.



if he were elected he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England.¹

Although Arnold had not yet had experience of school work, he had been educated at Winchester, and was consequently familiar with the faults and virtues of the public school system. He had, moreover, thought much on the subject of education, and his theories and plans were ready for trial when the opportunity should come. With these in his mind, he was determined to accept no post unless he were allowed full power to act as he thought best for the school. A divided or limited authority was all insufficient to carry out such a task as he had set before him. The evils which then existed in public schools have been much exaggerated, but there is no doubt they were serious; and Arnold felt that it was of no use

θρηνεῖν ἐπιδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πῆματι.

A head-master's duty was, in his opinion, to get rid of unpromising boys. This included not merely the morally bad, but the intellectually unpromising; for he saw that there is no greater danger than a boy whose strength wins the admiration of his fellows, while his mind is incapable of real culture. Those who were not ready to reform, and seemed only to corrupt the body corporate, he was determined to remove, and thus clear the way for a healthy life and growth. This done, he wished to try "whether his notions of Christian educa-

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*. i. 49.

tion were really impracticable.”¹ It was not at all his idea to thrust religion down boys’ throats, for he recognised that the capacity for religious feeling is not the same in a boy as in a man. Nor was it his wish to compel them to attend innumerable services, which would have made formalists of them, or implanted a lasting dislike of religion and all connected with it. His aim was to infuse a Christian spirit into the existing system, so far as this should prove to be possible; to teach boys how to apply the principles of Christianity to their work and their play, and to make them not scholars merely, but honourable gentlemen. What he looked for was—“First, religious and moral principle; secondly, gentlemanly conduct; and thirdly, intellectual ability.”

To-day this has the sound of a commonplace, but it was not so when Arnold conceived the idea. Rough and ready rules of schoolboy honour there of course were; but every practical teacher knows how curiously these differ in many points from the code of honour of a man of the world, and from the Christian ideal even more widely. The problem which he had to solve was not so much how to train the intellect, as how to train character. The teaching in English public schools before Arnold’s day has been rated far below its real quality. In turning out trained scholars Arnold never surpassed Samuel Butler, to mention but one name; it may be doubted if he equalled him. The teaching of Rugby School had been well organised by Thomas James, and

¹ *Life*, I. 74.

was by no means so exclusively classical as has been asserted by some. English authors were included in James's scheme, and although mathematics and modern languages were in name extras, they were not neglected, but encouraged. In this department Arnold made his own improvements, which will be spoken of by-and-by; but his main problem, as has been said, was how to train character.

In theory two alterations were possible: one, to overthrow the existing system completely, and to devise a new; the other, to infuse new life into the existing system by reformation or transformation. At that period a great outcry was being made against public schools by many, and the whole system was being denounced as incapable of improvement. Public schools were declared to be hotbeds of vice and cruelty, and nothing but evil was supposed to come out of them. These were the blind polemics of partisans, and the suggestion to build up a new system was the idle talk of inexperience. It is no easy matter to build up new systems; and in a nation which clings tenaciously to the past, such an attempt would be doubly hazardous. But in the case of the public schools, it was not only hazardous, but impossible. The public school system was a genuine national growth; and nothing short of national disaster can uproot national institutions, unless they are already dying of their own inherent vice. The public school system was not dying, as the event made clear. Nothing shows Arnold's genius so clearly as his grasp of the fact that the system, though corrupt, had

great possibilities. Like a skilful gardener, he did not fell the tree, but set his graft in it, and thus used the strength of the old stock to produce the fruit of the new.

The system as he found it at Rugby was not unlike to the administration of a conquered state. The Headmaster was an autocrat, dispensing punishments with no sparing hand. He and his colleagues alike were looked on as the natural enemies of boyhood, set over them by a mysterious dispensation of Providence to interfere with personal liberty and enjoyment. To these rulers the boys rendered a grudging obedience, which ceased when it ceased to be enforced. They had their own organisation, by which the weaker were slaves of the stronger; and their own code of honour, mercilessly strict among themselves, but lax towards their masters. A lie told to a schoolfellow was a very different thing from a lie told to the master. Differences between themselves were settled by an appeal to brute force, not only amongst the younger, where it was natural, but amongst older boys already on the verge of manhood. Ideals of conduct were otherwise low, and intemperate indulgence of various kinds was not condemned by public opinion.

Arnold seized upon this organisation among the boys as the mainspring of the whole system, and he used it to his own ends. The praepostors, as has been already said, had many privileges, but few duties. The privileges were by Arnold confirmed to the Sixth Form only, but restrained within limits; and the duties changed their character completely. The privilege of exacting obedience from fags, or



THOMAS ARNOLD.

(From a bust by Boehm, in New Big School, Rugby.)

To face page 224.

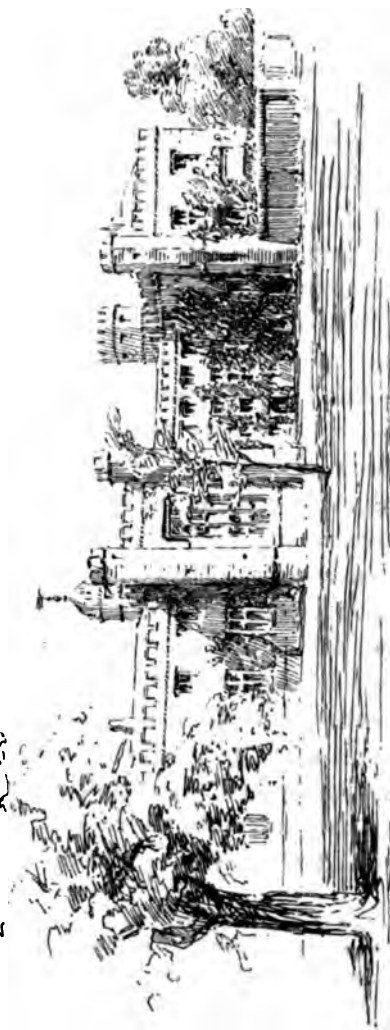


of punishing them for a personal offence, was continued so long as the service demanded were not wrong or unreasonable, and the punishment inflicted not unjust or excessive. Moreover, the boys immediately below the Sixth were made into a kind of intermediate class, neither themselves liable to be fagged, nor allowed to have fags of their own. But in return for this charter of privilege, the Head-master expected his head boys to see that the fags did not break the rules of the School, and to observe these rules themselves. This at one sweep got rid of a number of vexatious trifles, which previously either escaped the Master's eye, or wasted his time in dealing with them. Serious offences would of course be reported; and as the official position of the Sixth came to be recognised by themselves and the other boys, any feeling there may once have been against it as "sneaking" gradually died away. It is clearly not the same thing when a boy tells tales of his equal, and when a Sixth Form boy reports one of those who are below him. In the one case, fear or petty malice may play a part, but hardly so in the other. This gift of responsibility developed the strength of the elder boys, and made them respect themselves. A grave offence committed by one of them would naturally not be reported by another; but the whole body might deal with it¹ (and there are ways in which boys can

¹ An instance is given in *Echoes Far Off*, p. 39 (Midland Educational Company, 1897), by a member of Arnold's Sixth. See also *Experiences of a Fag*, chap. xv.

make life very hard for each other), or might officially report it to the Head-master. If any such offence were found out by the Head-master, the first punishment was obvious: to reduce the offender to the ranks. This would at once be an open disgrace, and would be unpleasant for the person concerned by taking away his privileges. Arnold used constantly to speak to his Sixth Form, explaining exactly what it was he required of them, praising if praise were deserved, or pointing out where they had fallen short. He treated the elder boys as gentlemen and as reasoning beings, at an age when their reason was beginning to develop, and their natures to respond to a generous trust. The result was that the tone of the upper boys soon grew more healthy, and each felt the natural delight of one who is trusted with responsibility and does not fail. The leaven then leavened the whole lump, so that gradually the best of the School in strength of character, intellect, and bodily power found themselves as it were unconsciously ranged on the side of orderliness and temperance.

In dealing with the lower boys Arnold's principles were the same, though modified so as to suit their age and inexperience. Arnold believed a boy's word as he believed a man's; and if he was sometimes deceived even then (as who is not?), yet the greater number of the boys were ashamed to tell him a lie. Responsibility was not given to them, but they were trained by his influence and words to regard the wellbeing of the School as their own concern. A wise reform was



RUGBY SCHOOL FROM THE CLOSE.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

- ^a Schools. ^b Schoolhouse Hall. ^c Studies and Dormitories. ^d Turret Staircase leading into Head-master's Study.
^e Head-master's Dwelling-house.

also carried out in the matter of punishments. Arnold did not in the least suffer from that false sentimentality common in our own generation, which condemns all corporal punishment as degrading. There can be no degradation when none is felt, and ordinary boys (as every practical teacher will admit) feel none in corporal punishment. They hail it rather as far preferable to long and monotonous impositions; if judiciously and calmly administered, it never leaves a grudge behind, as impositions often do. But exceptional boys do sometimes feel degraded by this kind of punishment, and Arnold put it in the power of all such to escape it altogether. This he did by restricting the punishment of flogging to grave moral offences, such as lying, and to persistent idleness or wilful disobedience, which are equally fatal to all government. For more venial offences, such as every healthy schoolboy must commit at times, milder punishments were ordained, such as caning or extra tasks.¹ Of course, any persistence in smaller faults, carelessness or unpunctuality, or neglect, not wilful, of work and orders, would result at last in a flogging, or even in removal from the School. Such boys, whether young or old, as either could not or would not conform to the rules of the School, got no good from it themselves, and only demoralised the

¹ Arnold wished at one time to introduce the punishment of solitary confinement for certain offences, and applied to the Trustees for leave to build rooms for the purpose. This kind of punishment is used in France and Germany, but we cannot but be thankful that the Trustees refused to allow it to be tried in an English public school. (Order of October 25, 1831.)

others. In these cases Arnold would request that the boy should be removed, but he was careful to attach no disgrace to the proceeding. They were boys who would do better with a private tutor, and were not suited to a public school: that was all. For the Sixth Form, flogging was no longer used, because it was not needed. Under Arnold's system no boy was likely ever to reach the Sixth Form who would be guilty of grosser faults or was a lover of anarchy. If any such did reach it, they would be kept within bounds by public opinion; or if finally he proved unworthy of trust, he would have to go.

Such was the new plan, simple enough in its essence; but its genius lies in its very simplicity. Any one can balance an egg on end when he is shown how to do it. To carry out the plan was not so simple; that needed the whole force of an exceptionally strong will. The School had first to be purged, and in doing this Arnold had to face great opposition from the boys themselves and from the outside world. At the beginning he was met by a storm of opposition which would have shaken a weaker man. He was accused of folly in entrusting boys with disciplinary power, and of undue severity in punishment, of lax views on religious subjects, and of political unsoundness. Yet he was really limiting the elder boys' disciplinary power, and softening the rigour of punishment; his religious convictions were part of his life, and his eager desire for reform only part of a whole-hearted devotion to law and order. In due time the storm

abated: the boys saw the wisdom of his enactments, and worked with him to the same end; the world recognised that a new power had arisen, and public opinion was far stronger in his favour than it had ever been against him. "Always expect to succeed," was his motto, "and never think you have succeeded." Arnold expected to succeed, and he did succeed.

Arnold's intercourse with the lower boys was of necessity less close. He gained an insight into the characters of many by the institution of periodical reports, which were sent to the parents; and though the chief impression made on most of them was an extreme fear, they always found him ready to listen to them with the gentlest sympathy. With their work he had little to do beyond organising it. He used to take all the forms in turn for an occasional lesson: this practice has been claimed as of his own originating, but wrongly, for it was instituted by James. Arnold, however, extended the yearly examinations to include the whole School, and used the same means at other times to test and to improve its efficiency. Otherwise he left the work of the lower forms to his assistants, whom he soon fired with his own spirit.

All the principles which Arnold instilled into his staff and his Sixth Form, and diffused through the School by his influence, were enforced by his sermons in the school chapel. The services had hitherto been conducted by a chaplain, and at Arnold's coming the chaplain was Charles Alleyne Anstey. In 1831 the chaplain resigned.



INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST.

(*"Memorials of Rugby."*)

To face page 230.



Arnold now saw an opportunity of making his influence tell yet more strongly upon the School, and at once applied for the vacant post. The Trustees gladly acceded to his request,¹ and from that time Arnold preached to the School almost every Sunday of the school year. These sermons were vastly different from those usually preached at that time, or indeed even now. They were a mirror of the man: plain, forcible, and direct, wholly free from cant, full of the knowledge of a boy's mind and its limitations, and directed to practical ends. They were, and still remain, models of what a school sermon should be. The discourses were listened to with real attention, being usually within the comprehension of the young, and yet appealing to the more mature intellect. He did not try to force boys' minds to heights of spirituality of which boys are not capable; but by his own fiery earnestness he implanted in them those Christian principles of conduct which were his own guides. His earnestness made them earnest, and his reverence made them reverent. He taught them to love all things that are lovely and of good report, to despise what is mean or base. Thus did he carry out his idea of a system of Christian education.

In the routine of teaching, Arnold made few changes. The excellent system devised by Thomas James was kept in its main features, the chief improvement being that

¹ Order of Oct. 25, 1831. He wished to receive no salary, but the Trustees insisted he should accept it, however he might see fit to use the money.

mathematics and modern languages, hitherto regarded as extra, were incorporated in the regular scheme. A new importance was given to the study of English, and to history, geography, and kindred subjects. English was, as we have seen, not unknown in James's original plan, and Arnold himself does not seem to have done much by way of making it a school subject. It is very difficult, as he saw, to make boys study books written in their own language with the same concentration of mind which is necessary for a language like Latin or Greek. But he encouraged reading and thought in every possible way. His pieces for translation were chosen for their own worth, out of the best authors; themes were set which encouraged boys to read standard books; and in every way, direct or indirect, the boys were sent to good models, and shown how to use them. Under James there had been a regular cycle of history, although the introduction of this also has been claimed for Arnold; but Arnold certainly made this study most interesting by his stores of apt knowledge and his vivid manner of description. The combination of geography with history, then a new idea, although since become a commonplace, assisted both memory and intelligence. He was the first among schoolmasters to draw practical lessons out of the politics and philosophy of the past. Throughout all his teaching the same energy and life was seen, and he taught his pupils the love of learning and the way to learn. Deep were the impressions produced upon the most dissimilar natures. He became the hero

not only of a refined and scholarly boy like Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, but of the more robust and practical Thomas Hughes.

It is now time to turn to the history of the School during Arnold's mastership. With a Head-master so



ARNOLD'S TABLE AND CHAIR.

(From a drawing by A. A. Clarence.)

devoted to literary studies, it was most appropriate that the library was at length worthily housed. It had previously been kept in a barn by the Dunchurch Road ; but in 1829 the tower chamber was built over the front gate, and the books removed thither. Around this room they were ranged from floor to ceiling, a gallery giving

access to the upper shelves. Here it was Arnold's wont to teach the Sixth Form, "sitting," as he writes, "in that undignified kitchen chair, at that little table, a just proportional to the tables of the Sixth themselves." When in 1875 new desks were substituted for these tables of the Sixth, the tops of the tables, scored with innumerable names, were fixed along the walls, there to remain as a memorial for ever. No other building was done during Arnold's mastership. But Arnold did something to beautify the chapel. His eye was offended by the flat ceiling, and he made great efforts to get rid of his "old enemy," as he calls it. In this he was not successful; but he was most fortunate in securing some old stained glass for the windows. By a lucky chance the church of Aershot, near Louvain, was in need of funds for a restoration, and to get money, sold some of its stained glass. One of its windows, dating from the fifteenth century, was purchased for the school chapel, and placed there in 1834:¹ this is the east window, representing the Adoration of the Magi. Another ancient window represents the Presentation in the Temple. It was made in the fourteenth century, and was brought from Rouen. A third depicts a scene which has been differently interpreted by different persons. It is inscribed as though the scene meant were the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene, but the inscription has no authority; it was added when the window was placed in the chapel. The

¹ See Bloxam, *Rugby*, p. 98; *Book of Rugby School*, p. 77. Two other windows from the same church went to Wadham College, Oxford.



INTERIOR OF SIXTH SCHOOL,
FORMERLY THE LIBRARY.

(From an etching by E. J. Burrow.)

To face page 234.



scene is believed really to be Christ's appearance to His mother.¹ This window, of the fifteenth century, was put up in 1836. An old German window representing Christ before Pilate was given in 1840 by the old Rugbeians at the two universities. One of the masters presented for the altar a pair of seventeenth-century candlesticks made of bronze gilt. Arnold was especially interested in these things, because the Rugby chapel lacked the associations of antiquity.

Arnold felt it to be important that he should not be hampered for lack of funds, and this led to another change. His election was to date from July 1828,² but a few months previously³ two resolutions were passed which were probably due to his suggestion. He had already expressed a strong opinion that the school fees were too low, and by these orders the charge for board was increased to fifty guineas (to include washing, single beds, and other things hitherto considered as extra), while the capitation fee for Foundationers was increased from five to twelve guineas. Half of this sum was for the Headmaster, and the other half was his to divide amongst his assistants as he should think proper.⁴ Private tuition was made optional for non-Foundationers as well as Foundationers, and the school fee for the former class was fixed at twelve guineas, to be divided as above. ✓

One important reform still remains to be mentioned. As it was Arnold's aim to get the training of the boys

¹ *Book of Rugby School*, p. 86.

³ Orders of April 11, 1828.

² Order of Dec. 10, 1827.

⁴ Order of July 8, 1828.

into his hands completely, it was obvious that the system of dames' houses must be put an end to. In this, as in other things, Arnold showed a wise restraint. He did not try to abolish the whole system at once, any more than he tried to abolish the public school system; but he resolved that no more dames' houses should be allowed, and as each fell vacant for whatever reason, he transferred the house to one of his assistants. The Head-master's relations with his staff also underwent a change. By the increase of their emoluments which has been mentioned, and by their appointment as boarding-house masters, he had so improved their position that he could now fairly assert a right to their whole time. The assistants were no longer allowed to take curacies along with the school work, and their services were claimed on Sundays as on week-days, if necessary.¹ This clearly excited some opposition at first, since the Trustees found it necessary to pass a resolution on the subject. But it was not long before Arnold got his men in hand. He had differences with some of them, in which indolence or a dislike of change was confronted with his unyielding temper; but the victory lay with him, and the objector had either to submit or to go.² Those who submitted, and those whom Arnold himself appointed, soon recognised that he was in the right. They answered as a spirited horse to the rein; and their reluctance once overcome, all threw themselves into their work with an enthusiasm like their leader's own. Arnold gave his staff

¹ Order of Aug. 24, 1829.

² Order of July 9, 1833.

a voice in the school management, holding a masters' meeting every three or four weeks, in which all manner of things were discussed and voted upon. He had his reward. No more is heard of reluctance to do duty on Sundays or any other day; and in a year or two we find the whole staff contributing to pay the salary of an extra master.¹ Many of his predecessors had paid considerable sums out of their own pockets towards the salaries of assistants, and Arnold did the same;² but this is the first example of a general self-denying ordinance, and it implies a real devotion of all alike to the interests of the School.

It has been mentioned that Arnold was resolved to get rid of all corrupting elements in the School. As this might mean the expulsion of a considerable number of boys at once, the Head-master might possibly be brought into collision with the Trustees. It is a habit of governing bodies to suppose that the prosperity of a school is in direct ratio to its numbers; and if the numbers fall off, they are apt to find fault, or even to interfere. There was at one time a part of the Trustees who wished to have Arnold removed, possibly because he firmly carried out his principle of purging. The opposition failed, and perhaps in order to make any recurrence of it unlikely, Arnold persuaded the Trustees to limit the number of non-Foundations in the School to 260.³ There were so many applicants for entering

¹ Order of Oct. 25, 1831.

² See Order of July 6, 1830, for example.

³ Order of July 6, 1830.

the School that he could make fairly sure of keeping up this number without difficulty; and if it were necessary to remove a few boys, their places would at once be filled. Whatever friction there was between the Trustees and the Head-master very soon ceased, and the Trustees loyally took his part when he was assailed by outside attacks. On one or two occasions when his conduct was called in question, special resolutions were passed declaring full confidence in him, and confirming all he had done.¹

We must not forget to record an event which was long remembered by Rugby boys with joy and gratitude, because it gained them a week's holiday. This was the visit of the Queen Dowager, wife of William IV., on Oct. 29, 1839. Arnold came round the day before to announce the intended visit, and hinted delicately that the boys need not be dressed "as they might be in dirty and rainy weather." Let the scene be described by an eye-witness:²—

Accordingly, the next day in brilliant apparel we were arranged in rows in the quadrangle, one beginning with the Sixth diagonally, along the pavement, and the others round

¹ *e.g.* Order of March 23, 1836: "We, the undersigned Trustees of Rugby School, assembled at an especial meeting, are glad to have an opportunity of expressing our entire satisfaction with Dr. Arnold's management of the School. Many of the young men who have proceeded to the universities from Rugby School have distinguished themselves, and done honour to Dr. Arnold's system of education; and we believe that the discipline of the School has been conducted upon most humane and liberal principles, and on this conviction we continue to repose entire confidence in Dr. Arnold." See also Order of Dec. 11, 1838.

² See *New Rugbeian*, ii. 148.

it. In due time her Majesty emerged from the side door into the cloisters from the Schoolhouse, which had been laid down with crimson cloth ; behind followed Earls Howe and Denbigh, and divers other great personages. Leaning on Dr. Arnold's arm, her Majesty walked out at once into the open quadrangle, cutting off the corner in which is the Schoolhouse Hall, and made boldly for the chapel, amid shouts shrill and hearty such as boys alone can throw out. While our distinguished visitor was inspecting the chapel, which then had only two painted windows, the east one with the legend "*apparuit primo M. Magdalenae,*" we were with difficulty retained in the quad, and at length like a mountain torrent were let loose into the Close. Her Majesty proceeded completely round the Close on the gravel walk, and expressed a desire to see us play football. A fearful thing for thin boots, swell trowsers, and a treacherous November soil ! these are thoughts suggested, perhaps, by later years—there was no hesitation *then*. Only when we had hanged up our waistcoats and coats on the palings by the tump at Little Side, we presented anything but our usual martial appearance arrayed in white trowsers, belts, and velvet caps : we looked, in fact, more like a mob of cockneys on what might be their first introduction to the game. Play, however, we did in a way ; we can't say it was a very scientific performance. Her Majesty seemed most impressed when the ball went up with a tremendous punt into the air, or half traversed the Close in a drop. However, there was, as might be expected, not much spirit in the game ; and by the time the Queen had reached half-way between the island and the doctor's garden wall, we began again to mob about her and cheer her, and so yelling and shouting "*domum deduximus,*" to the Schoolhouse again. It is unnecessary to add that we did not do all this for nothing : a

week's extra holiday followed as a matter of course, and "Regina Rugbeiam invisens" brought forth countless Latin verses of all metres in the different forms, to the tune of—

"Vidit et magnas stupefacta turre
Tectaque vasta."

I excuse the Sixth from this poetical outburst: from their serene temples no notice was in this way taken of the event.

Among Arnold's pupils were many who achieved a name for themselves in after life. Two names at once will occur to every reader, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley,¹ his biographer, and Thomas Hughes.² It is generally supposed that Arthur in *Tom Brown's School Days* was drawn from Stanley, and the author has admitted that this is substantially true.³ A man of more distinguished genius than either, though less generally known, was the poet Arthur Hugh Clough.⁴ Charles John Vaughan, perhaps the most finished scholar among the pupils of Arnold, was Craven scholar, senior classic, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Head-master of Harrow. He is said to have been offered the highest position in the Church, and to have declined it. His last years were spent as Master of the Temple, where Sunday after Sunday his sermons used to attract an audience of able and thoughtful men. But there were several other scholars of eminence at Rugby during Arnold's mastership. Professor Conington,⁵ of Oxford; Professor Hort,⁶ of Cambridge; Professor

¹ Entered 1829.

² Entered 1834.

³ See a letter in the *Spectator*, Nov. 13, 1897.

⁴ Entered 1829.

⁵ Entered 1838.

⁶ Entered 1841.

J. B. Mayor,¹ of King's College, London; Dean Bradley,² for many years Master of Marlborough; Edward Henry Bradby³ (afterwards Head-master of Haileybury), a name familiar to generations of Rugbeians: these are but a few among many. Arnold's power descended in various forms on his own children, of whom two are specially interesting to Rugby. William Delafield Arnold,⁴ after serving in the Bengal Native Infantry, was appointed Director-General of Public Education in the Punjaub. He was the author of a variety of books and articles, among them the "Sixth Match," which describes better than the Old Boy himself the excitement of the mimic fray. Matthew Arnold,⁵ as poet and as critic, holds an honourable place in English literature, and as the apostle of "culture," was once a marked figure in English society. His fame as a poet will probably grow rather than decrease with the lapse of time. The list of university honours won by the School includes four Ireland scholarships, two Hertfords, and two Cravens, besides several minor university scholarships. Rugby had two senior classics at Cambridge, four Chancellor's classical medallists, five Browne's medallists, two Porson prizemen, and eight Members' prizemen. The Chancellor's medal for English verse was won twice, the Newdigate three times, the Latin verse prize thrice, the English essay thrice, and the Latin essay five times.

Arnold may well have been proud of these honours

¹ Entered 1841.

² Entered 1837.

³ Entered 1839.

⁴ Entered 1839.

⁵ Entered 1837.

but he would have been still prouder had he lived to see Lord Cross¹ become Home Secretary, Lord Derby² Secretary of State for the Colonies, for India, and for Foreign Affairs, Sir Richard Temple³ play many parts with distinguished success, and William Henry Waddington⁴ return to this country as Ambassador of France. How it would have interested him to see three Rugbeians conducting the official intercourse of two great nations:⁵ Lord Derby as Foreign Secretary for England, Waddington Foreign Secretary for France, and F. O. Adams Chief Secretary to the British Embassy in Paris.

In India and in the Crimea many who were boys under Arnold fought and fell; and one has gained a name which Englishmen will not willingly forget. Hodson,⁶ of Hodson's Horse, was noted at school for deeds of daring and feats of speed. In 1845 he landed in India, and in the same year fought at Moodkee, when his schoolfellow Octavius Carey⁷ was killed. He was present at Ferozeshah and Sobraon and other battles, and soon gained a great reputation for dash and courage, being twice honourably mentioned in despatches. But his fame is bound up with the body of irregular horse which he raised during the Mutiny. No account of the siege of Delhi fails to speak of Hodson's Horse on nearly every page. His crowning feat was the capture of the King of Delhi and of the three remaining princes of the Mogul dynasty. He had only a

¹ Entered 1837.

² Entered 1840.

³ Entered 1839.

⁴ Entered 1841.

⁵ In 1877; *Register*, p. 227.

⁶ Entered 1837. See *Records*, p. 86.

⁷ Entered 1835.

company of sepoy to protect the prisoners ; and as on the last occasion when he was escorting the three princes away, a rescue seemed to be imminent, Hodson shot them all three with his own hand. He fell in 1858 at the storm of Lucknow. No other old Rugbeian of this epoch is so picturesque a figure as Hodson ; but many rendered services to their country no less valuable than his. Henry Andrew Sorrel¹ was at one time Hodson's fag ; they were at Cambridge together, and both pulled in the Trinity boat. Sorrel was present at Chillianwallah and Gujerat, and commanded a body of cavalry under John Nicholson. He afterwards took part in a number of other actions, and was mentioned in despatches no less than fourteen times. In the navy was Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay,² whose Log-book has lately put forth leaves. He served with conspicuous success in China, and afterwards in the Crimea, and was Fellow of the Royal Society. In the same service was Henry Carr Glyn,³ who (like any other jack-tar) was equally at home as a lieutenant on board ship, as staff-officer on shore, or engineering a bridge over the Danube.

Three names are now to be mentioned of those whose distinction was of a kind especially pleasing to Arnold. Henry Watson Fox⁴ became a missionary to South India, and died quite young in the midst of his labours. After his death a fund was raised to support a master in one of the Indian schools, which was deemed a fitting way to

¹ Entered 1839.

² Entered 1842.

³ Entered 1833.

⁴ Entered 1831.

perpetuate his memory. A "Fox sermon" is preached once a year at the School, and the collection then taken is devoted to the same purpose. Spencer Thornton¹ was a boy of no remarkable ability, but of remarkable force of character, who had a deep influence in the School. Straightforward, manly, upright, and honest to the core, he won the respect of all, even those who were repelled by his somewhat narrow religious views. "Your son," wrote Arnold at the time he left, "has done good to the School to an extent that cannot be calculated." The last is one whose name does not appear in the *Register*, for he had scarcely entered the School when his young life was cut short. John Walker² was sixteen years old when he was drowned in saving the life of a schoolfellow. His name finds a place on the chapel walls by the side of those who fell in their country's wars, and no less deserves honour than the winners of a Victoria Cross: *ipse vitam vita redemit*.

These were some of the fruits of Arnold's fourteen years; tended and brought to ripeness with what strenuous labour, and what struggles against opposition and stupidity, no man can know but he. It might well have seemed that he was intended for a sphere of usefulness yet wider, and that he might have had an opportunity of attempting the "great work" of which he dreamed: to infuse new life into the Church as he had done into the public schools, and to bring England nearer to that ideal state where State and Church should be truly one. But it was not to be. In the midst of his labours, in the prime

¹ Entered 1829.

² Entered 1841.

of health and strength, Arnold died. The last school day in the summer half of 1842 was over, and Arnold retired to rest, apparently in the best of spirits; by eight o'clock on the next morning he was dead.

The sudden death of Arnold, such a "death unforeseen" as Julius Cæsar desired, filled all Rugby with consternation and bewilderment. There was nothing now left but to show all honour to the strong man who had run his race. The Trustees held a special meeting, and sensible "of the great loss which the School has sustained in the death of a Master who has raised its character to the highest pitch," ordered that the chapel should be hung with black on the day of his funeral.¹ On the Friday following, exactly one week after the last speeches where he presided, the funeral service was performed in the chapel, and the Head-master's body was buried beneath the communion-table. When the chapel was afterwards enlarged, a cross was set in the floor over this spot; and this forms the goal of many a stranger from foreign shores, who comes to see the last resting-place of a great man.

O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force
Surely has not been left vain!
Somewhere, surely, afar
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm.

¹ Order of June 15, 1842. A picture in Rugby School Museum represents the interior of the chapel on this day.

XII

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY

Quicquid agunt pueri

THE new life which Arnold infused into the School quickened not only its moral but its intellectual part. One outcome of this was the first Rugby Debating Society, founded in 1833.¹ The meetings were held in the Fifth Form Room. This not only gave the boys opportunity to learn how to express their thoughts, but taught them the necessity for order and decent procedure. The effect was seen in the Sixth Form Levée. The meetings, even of this august assemblage, had been hitherto attended with much discomfort. All the boys clustered together in the middle of the room, and all talked at once; "he only," writes one of them plaintively, "he only who was of tall stature and loud voice had the pre-eminence." But with the birth of a Debating Society a new spirit of order appeared: *ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διαπρίνας διεκόσμησεν*. The infant Debating Society had to face rough winds, and soon perished; but another arose like a phoenix out of its grave, and in time, as we shall see, it became firmly established. Another sign

¹ *Rugby Magazine*, ii. 11, 14.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 247

of intellectual activity is the first *Rugby Magazine*,¹ with which A. H. Clough had a great deal to do. The papers in this periodical are surprisingly good. If the style is somewhat formal, it never condescends to smartness or flippancy, and is much superior to the magazines which people now so greedily buy. There is a great quantity of poetry in these early volumes, written in imitation of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, or some other reigning favourite; and this poetry, though it lacks imagination, is carefully composed, and correct in workmanship. In the prose, however, there is a good deal of imagination, and a great variety of subjects are treated. Sometimes the subject is a literary criticism; or, it may be, a scene from ancient history is dramatised, such as the "Departure of Crassus for the East," or "Two Days in Athens Two Thousand Years ago." These dramatic dialogues were a favourite form of composition, and one at least is of considerable merit, "A Walk to Bilton Hall in 1706." Here the characters are Henry Holyoake and his distinguished pupil, Cave. The Greek War of Independence had but lately ended, and this finds its echo in a "Conversation between Byron and Kolokotroni." Other writers turn their attention to the daily life of the School, and we have sundry "Sketches of School Character." In one of these sketches the society of a school is compared to men "just emerging from barbarism," one of Arnold's favourite ideas, though less gently put than he put it. How pleased Arnold must

¹ Vol. i. 1835; vol. ii. 1836: no more. See also the *Leaflet*, ii. 59.

have been to see these evidences of quickening life, we may readily imagine. "Promise, not performance," was what he looked for in boys, and in these pages is abundant promise.

There is unfortunately less in the Magazine than we could wish about the daily life of the schoolboy. A few names appear, however, which have since grown familiar, such as Aganippe (near Holbrook Copse), or Swifts. Though the old "Pig and Whistle" still plied to Oxford, and the "University Drag" to Cambridge, changes were passing over both school and town. Rugby town appears to be just emerging out of the dark ages, and the poet celebrates the innovation in the following lines :¹—

Three public charities the mind engage,
Houses of alms for indigent old age.
For malefactors one small cell is found—
Small, but commodious ; roomy, altho' round.
Three great improvements have been lately made.
New flagstones yield a pleasant promenade ;
And lamps in safety see the travellers pass,
At present lit with oil instead of gas.
The public officers were lately two,
A crier and constable alone they knew ;
Now, in addition, through the town there stamps
Another gentleman, who lights the lamps.

The "School Patriarch," as in duty bound, laments the good old times, "ere the Bilton Road was built on," when "composition Tutors were happily unknown." He

¹ See *Rugby Magazine*, ii. 213.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 249

sighs for the day "when the Island was an island," and for the stern Spartan simplicity of ancient times.

In the days when twenty fellows drank out of one large mug,
And pewter were the dishes, and a tin can was the jug ;
In the days when shoes and boots were three times a week
japanned,
And we sat on stools, not sofas,—there were giants in the land !

When new boys on the pump were set to pelt at and to sing,
Or sent from the Close to Pendred's for a pennyworth of string ;
In the days when fags a long hour in the passage had to stand,
In the days of happy night] fags,—there were giants in the
land !

When Sixth and Fifth-form fellows had all been duly "chaired,"
And he who told a falsehood was "cobbed" and never spared ;
And we walked around the School-field with our breakfast in our
hand,
Ere the days of tea and coffee,—there were giants in the land !¹

These are only glimpses at best ; but the Rugby of Arnold lives again in the pages of *Tom Brown's School Days*. Be it football, or be it a Big Side run, with a finish at the "Cock," and "good ale going," life in school or life in the house, no such story of schoolboy life has ever been written. To recall the pea-shootings and the birds'-nestings, the fights and bullyings, Martin's menagerie and the wrath of Velveteens, were but to re-tell a twice-told tale. Others besides the "Old Boy" have left on record their "Recollections" or their "Experiences."²

¹ *Rugby Magazine*, ii. 389.

² *Recollections of Rugby*, by an Old Rugbeian ; *School Experiences of a Fag*, by G. Melly.

With these we may go trolling in the ponds by the Dunchurch Road, or go fishing to Brownsover or Lawford, or leaping over Lawford brook, or lounging in the Spinney; we may learn swimming at Sleath's Hole, "the sheepwash," or take part in the internecine strife of the houses for the best place at Swifts.

The Rugby fishermen of this date were true sportsmen, scorning the net, and trusting only to rod and line. They were economical in their tackle, rarely spending more than four or five shillings on a rod which might be confiscated any day by some irate gamekeeper. The steady bottom-fisherman preferred the water near Caldecott's spinney, which was full of deep holes suited to his particular branch of the art. But the finest fish and the most plentiful were to be had in the first quarter of a mile above Rugby mill. Here many a jack or perch was landed with one of old Pendred's stout rods. Good sport might be had below Brownsover mill by those fishermen who knew their business. This water has sacred associations for the angler: if tradition speaks true, Izaak Walton himself has whipped it many a time. Occasionally a few mischievous urchins would seek more exciting sport in a duck-hunt. Hooks are baited with bread and thrown into a farmyard, and soon the farmer's wife beholds with amazement how her ducks, as though demented, run flapping their wings up a perpendicular stone wall and disappear over the top.

What an event was the Fifth of November in those

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 251

days! For days beforehand the "Town" was astir preparing the great bonfire. Tar-barrels, loads of straw and dry brambles, logs and lumps of wood were heaped in a mighty pile midmost the market-place, to be lighted at eight o'clock on the eventful evening. But eight o'clock would be too late for the boys to see it, and every year a great fight used to take place, the School striving to kindle the blaze before locking-up, and the Town to prevent it. So in the boys' studies might be seen as much bustle and business as in the town. Carpet brushes were soaked in rosin or turpentine, and long sticks got ready, each with a thousand lucifers fastened at one end. At a shop near the scene of action was stored a reserve of combustibles, to be used when the great attack is made. The day arrives; the hour of five is struck; the School assembles, and away to the market-place in a mass. A champion is chosen of stout thews and sinews, to carry a torch, and around him are wedged a strong body-guard of the best fighting-men in the School. The Town are drawn up around their pile, resolved to defend it to the death. A first attack is made, and beaten off. Nothing daunted, the boys charge again, and this time break through the cordon of defenders. The torch is applied, but no flame follows; all this side of the heap has been drenched with water. There is nothing for it but to tear it down and penetrate to the middle. Now doughty deeds are done; sticks and bricks fall thick on the heroes, and many a cracked crown will keep this night's memory fresh. But at last it is done: the dry

is reached, the torch is applied ; the boys open a passage between two strong lines, and through it pass relays of bearers, with rockets and crackers, and the brushes and match-sticks that have been preparing so long. A moment more, and the blaze rises sky-high : the town bonfire is lighted.

“Singing in Hall” was a terrible ordeal for the new-comer. The house assembled, new boys were mounted in turn upon a table, with a candle in each hand, and told to sing a song. If the trembling wretch made a false note, a violent hiss followed ; and all through the performance pellets and crusts of bread were thrown at the boy or his candles, often knocking the candles out of his hands and covering him with tallow. The singing over, the new boy had to descend and pledge the house in a bumper of salt and water stirred with a tallow candle. He was now free of the house, and retired to his room feeling very uncomfortable. On the night after the “new boys’ night” there was chorus singing, in which solos and quartets of all sorts were sung, especially old Rugby favourites, such as—

It's my delight on a shiny night
In the season of the year.

The proceedings wound up in loyal fashion with “God Save the Queen.”

One who was for some years a fag, yet never rose to the proud position of fagging others, has written a volume

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 253

in praise of the institution.¹ In 1830, when this writer entered Rugby, there was still a good deal of illegal fagging by big boys not in the Sixth; but this could be only in secret, and the fag, if he chose to resist by force, would have been supported by public opinion. There was school fagging and house fagging. The former consisted chiefly of fielding out, scoring, or standing umpire at cricket; and any of the Sixth had the right to call out any fag for this purpose. If a Sixth Form boy wanted a fag, all he had to do was to stand at the door at calling-over and make his choice out of the three hundred fags or more. If a fag did well, he was soon set free for the rest of the day; and, on the whole, the system can have proved a hardship only to lazy boys, who ought to be made to endure hardships. In the winter, there was football fagging; that is to say, at a match every "no-cap" was obliged to stand behind the goals.

House fagging included a variety of duties, some which usually fall to a housemaid, and others are peculiar. No sooner was the fag awake than with the sun he must his daily round of duty run. First of all, the fags in each dormitory must take it in turns to awake the rest, and the fag of the week was responsible for getting the rest out of bed by half-past six. This was done by blows applied to various portions of the frame, by pulling off all the bed-clothes, or by dabbing a wet sponge on

¹ *School Experiences of a Fag.*

the face. It was a dangerous duty, and was carried out amidst a hail of pillows, boots, brushes, even water-jugs. First lesson over, the breakfast fag had to go down town and purchase viands for any little party that his master might be giving. When he got back he must cook it; and as for his own, he might go without, unless a kindly chum stepped in to the rescue. Bread and butter could be got from the buttery, but nothing more in the way of eatables except the scanty allowance of a quarter of a pound of tea and a pound of sugar per week. The next thing was, to tidy his master's study: cups and glasses to be cleaned, books to be put straight, bats hung up, flowers watered, the whole place dusted as never maid dusted room. At tea, half-a-dozen fags were sent down into Hall to toast large rounds of bread, two for each praepostor, before a burning fiery furnace. To make matters worse, toasting-forks were never allowed. This done, the fag was free for the night, unless he should be chosen to stand by one of the fireplaces in the corridor, to answer the call of any praepostor who wanted his supper. A weird tale is told of one trembling urchin who sat there once in the dark, and suddenly beheld a tall figure in white, with clanking chains, which approached to the accompaniment of a bright blue light, and distributed bread and cheese and beer at the praepostorial studies.

One of the envied privileges of the Sixth was the use of the Island, until a "proud prelate drained the time-honoured moat." The Island was at that time surrounded by a moat, which was spanned by a wooden drawbridge;

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 255

across this was a gate with spikes at the top. It would appear that in the last century, part of the ground on the Barby Road, opposite the Close, was divided up into allotments for the Sixth, where they grew radishes or cress, and flowers. These acres were of course tilled by the fags on the *corvée* system. The flowers were used for decorations on Speech Day. When this ground was used for building houses, the Island was allotted to the Sixth instead, and each had his own little plot of the sacred soil. Towards Easter, when Big Side leaping and runs were over for the season, arrangements were made for tilling these plots by Island fagging.¹ After calling-over, the fags were driven out into the Close, and then formed in a long line, the bigger boys towards the Head-master's wall, and the little ones on the extreme right. Two of the Sixth posted themselves by the bridge as judges, and at a given signal the whole line set off full tilt. The six fags who got first to the bridge were excused, and strolled off triumphant. Now came the second act—jumping the moat. The first six who volunteered for this forlorn hope were also excused, but they generally earned it by actually trying the jump, and getting wet up to the waist. Any one else who could really take the almost impossible jump would be excused also; but there were only two places where it could be done, and very few could do it even there. And now to work: five or six fags were told off to each plot, and ordered to dig. The fags were now like the Israelites of old, when driven by Pharaoh's

¹ *Sibyl*, No. 1.

taskmasters; for there was hardly any soil to dig, and no tools to dig with. Knives, spikes, sharpened stakes, broken fives-bats—anything and everything was brought into requisition, and the labourers scratched away with vigour, until their masters got tired of watching. This lasted all the afternoon until a quarter of an hour before calling-over, on each half-holiday till the week before Easter. By this time the beds were supposed to be ready for planting, and each plot was to be surrounded with turf. The turf was procured by “turf-cart fagging.” A light lorry was brought round to the gates, and those of the Sixth who wanted a ride got in, while twenty fags or so were harnessed to draw it. Away went the team, doing their best to run away with the cart, and often there was a spill ere the goal was reached. Then turf was cut (without leave asked of anybody), and dragged back to School. When the Island was all neatly turfed, it remained to procure flowers for Speech Day. By ancient convention they were supposed to grow on the Island, but the primitive methods of cultivation were not favourable to flowers, as may be readily imagined. But the fiat went forth, “Get flowers,” and somehow or other got they must be—*si possis, recte: si non, quo cumque modo, florem*. By hunting in the hedges, or making raids on the neighbouring gardens, at length a sufficient quantity of primroses and violets were transplanted to their new home. Visitors were always taken to see the Island, and great was their admiration of the diligence of the boys in making the desert to bloom as a rose.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 257

The Sixth Form had to keep an eye on the fags in general, and punish them if they broke bounds, or indulged in smoking of clay pipes or in beer-drinking. Punishments varied from a short imposition to a licking. For minor offences there was a "study-licking" of three strokes; for others, a more serious chastisement administered before the Sixth, or "hall-licking." A fag might appeal to the house, but if his appeal was not allowed, the punishment would be increased. For example, if a boy refused to take a study-licking and appealed, he would be awarded a hall-licking in case his appeal failed. When questioned, a boy's word was always taken, and it was a matter of honour never to deceive a praepostor. A boy might report anything to a praepostor that concerned himself, but on no account must he give information about others. Serious offences were carefully investigated, and then either reported to the Head-master or punished by a public thrashing in Hall.

It may be interesting to add a scheme of the daily round, from the letters of one who was a schoolboy sixty years ago :—

On Mond. Wed. and Frid. I go into school at 7. When prayers are read we say the lesson, and come out at about $\frac{1}{4}$ to eight, when I have my breakfast and prepare 2nd lesson till $\frac{1}{4}$ to 10, when we go in for 2nd lesson, and we stay there till about 11-30. On Wednesdays we go into the writing master for Arithmetic at 12-15 till 1-15, when we come home (though not *my* home) and have dinner at 1-30. On Mond. and Frid. we do not go for Arith^c. I devote the time till

dinner to extra study. After dinner I prepare 3rd lesson till 3-30, when we go in and say it, and come out for a $\frac{1}{2}$ of an hour, and go in again and do Arith., and come out for good at about 5-30, when I have my tea, and walk with G. P. till 7-30, locking up time, have prayers at $\frac{1}{2}$ to 8, and then from then till 10, bed time, I sit down and prepare 1st lesson for next day. On Tuesdays, Thursd. and Sats., which are $\frac{1}{2}$ holidays, we don't [MS. "do"] go in again after 2nd lesson, from which till dinner extra work, and after dinner till 3-30 I have for play. From 3-30 to 6 extra work, six till lock up, play, and in the evenings as before. As to our games here there are none besides cricket, football, and fives. At the first I have played twice, at the 3rd never. Walking seems the chief thing, which I do every day with G. P., who is my favourite companion.¹

I will now give you a short sketch of how I spend my Sundays. At 8-30 in the morning we have prayers, and after that breakfast, after which I learn the gospel, or that and a psalm for first lecture, which is at 10. At 11 I go to chapel, which lasts till about 12, when I walk till dinner (1) with G. P. After dinner I prepare 2nd lecture, which is 3 or 4 chapters of the Bible, till 3, when we go in to 2nd lecture: 2nd chapel at 4, after which I have tea, and from tea till $\frac{1}{2}$ to eight I have to myself. After prayers I prepare 1st lesson for next day out of the New Test. in Greek, wh. does not take me long, and I have from 9 till 10 for reading. J. Tickell is very kind to me, and I am lucky enow to be one of his fags, so that no one else in the house can fag me to clean out his study, &c. (this has nothing to do with outdoor fagging, for any preposter can fag one there), and the very

¹ MS. Letter of E. H. Bradby (entered 1839), Aug. 29, 1839. For this extract I have to thank Mr. G. F. Bradby.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 259

fact of my knowing him preserves me from being bullied. He is not, as I thought he would be, a bully, but, on the contrary, every boy likes him.¹

Most of the boys took their breakfast and supper in their studies, where they had a whole *batterie de cuisine*, pots and pans and gridirons. But the great ambition was to be elected into "Hall," where the first twenty fellows in the house² formed a select club. At the beginning of each half, a ballot took place, and vacancies were filled up. In Hall was glory, but in the study was comfort, and the disappointed candidates really had the best of the bargain. Those charming little dens, though no larger than they were in James's day, had become much more luxurious. But there is a drawback to all human joys, and the happy owner might come in to find everything in the place turned wrong way up: the table tied to the ceiling, each chair hung on the walls upside down, the sofa on the top of the door, pens and pencils glued to the roof, every picture face downwards on the floor, the books on their heads, and the geraniums standing on their flowers. Even the inkstand would be turned over, but so cunningly that the ink remained in it. This was done by filling it quite full, and then putting a piece of paper over the top. It would then be carefully turned over and placed on a flat surface, the paper pulled away, and the ink would remain until the owner tried to put it straight again. One boy who rejoiced in the nickname

¹ MS. Letter of E. H. Bradby, Sept. 7, 1839.

² Price's, but the practice was probably much the same elsewhere.

of "Hen" once found his study beautifully arranged as a coop. All the furniture was gone, the floor was covered with gravel an inch deep, and two perches were fixed from wall to wall; the walls were covered with chickweed and groundsel, and great bits of bread stuffed in the bars of the window. In one corner was a huge nest made of straw and hay, and full of ostrich eggs; tin cans of seed and basins of water stood in another; and four Cochinchina fowls were pecking about in great contentment. An inscription over the door informed all and sundry that this was "THE HEN HER NEST." Worse things might happen than this; and if a boy had become very unpopular, there was a "smoking-out." As the boy sat quietly in his study, he would suddenly hear a fizz, and descry the end of a red-hot poker coming through the door. Another would follow, then a third, until the unpleasant odour of burning paint filled his nostrils. Then the pokers were pulled out, and pieces of brown paper, dipped in brimstone and lighted, were pushed through the holes, filling the place with a new variety of unpleasant smoke. Next, funnels and other contrivances were inserted, and the smoke of burning hay driven through them. The proceedings were wound up by pouring a bucket of water down the chimney.

When the boys went home, everything that could be locked was locked, and the study door nailed up. The town was full of horses and post-boys come to carry the boys off. They always started in the middle of the night or very early in the morning, and the evening before was

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 261

spent in revelry. The travellers sat round a roaring fire



GATE, WITH WINDOW OF SIXTH FORM SCHOOL.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

in Hall, and made merry with sausages or veal-pie, a barrel of oysters, egg-flip, or anything else they could

get. How much they got through by midnight, deponent saith not; but we may doubt if of the fragments there remained more than oyster shells.

About the school games we have hitherto found only the most scanty hints; but from this period more exact information begins. Thanks to the energy of the Old Rugbeian Society, the Rugby School cricket scores¹ have been collected and printed. These begin in 1831; and although the record is not complete for the earlier years, it is surprising how much has survived. Besides foreign matches, the Eleven *v.* the Twenty-Two used to be played thus early, and other Big Side matches, such as Present *v.* Old Rugbeians, the Sixth *v.* the School, Schoolhouse *v.* School. The points of the compass had also a deadly feud, and we find East playing West, and North playing South. In 1840 Rugby School played against the Marylebone Club at Lord's, but were defeated. On this occasion Thomas Hughes was captain, and made 30 not out. Unfortunately no detailed account of any of the matches or games at cricket has been preserved. But with football the case is otherwise. Not only have we a careful examination into the *Origin of Rugby Football*,² which we likewise owe to the Old Rugbeian Society, but three of the heroes of the Close have left what will ever remain classical descriptions of the old Rugby game.

¹ *R. S. Cricket Scores* (Foreign and Big Side Matches), 1831-93. Rugby: A. J. Lawrence. London: Whittaker, 1894.

² Lawrence, 1897. Price 1s. Several sources of information have not been used for this book, which would have greatly increased its value. Chief of these is the *Books of the Big Side Levée*.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 263

It is no part of my task to attempt a history of the game of football in England, interesting as such a history must be. Suffice it to say, that football is truly a national game of great antiquity, and is associated in many parts of the country with religious observances which have survived from pagan times, and perhaps also with old traditions of village feuds. Several of the big schools have developed a peculiar type of their own, and one of them is Rugby. But the peculiarity of the Rugby game, running with the ball, though it is found in some of the local varieties of football, seems to be of recent origin at Rugby. It arose from a chance piece of bravado, as has been already pointed out,¹ and for a long time was not the custom at Rugby School. By degrees, however, it came to be tolerated, and afterwards was prescribed by the rules of the game. Thomas Hughes says that in 1834, the first year he was at Rugby, running with the ball for a touch in goal was absolutely forbidden.² This seems to be an exaggeration, as other players remember its being allowed at that date. The practice became "rather popular" a few years later "from the prowess of Jem Mackie," a swift and strong runner; and in 1841 "running in" was made lawful, but only when the ball was caught on the bound, and not picked up. The catcher must also not be off-side, and no passing was allowed, and he was liable to an extra allowance of hacking during the progress. The game at this early

¹ See above, p. 218.

² *Origin of Rugby Football*, pp. 12, 17, 19.

period was very different from that to which we are now accustomed. In some of the Big Side matches a small body of powerful players were opposed to a huge mob of opponents; in others there were two such mobs, having a hundred or more on a side. All the School who were not "caps" had to stand in goal during a Big Side match; the others were organised into detachments. The game described in *Tom Brown* was fairly typical, but the rules were by no means fixed. Old Brooke, it will be remembered, arranged his forwards in three groups; behind them came the "dodgers," who answer to the modern half-backs; and "in quarters" were the three-quarters or full backs. A maul in goal was common; and a most exciting thing was a maul, as the present writer can testify from experience. It must be remembered, however, that although it was lawful to hold any player in a maul, "this holding does not include attempts to throttle or strangle, which are totally opposed to all the principles of the game."¹ The ball was not brought out after a touch in goal, but kicked out and caught; as soon as it was kicked, the defenders might make a rush, and unless the ball were caught and a mark made before the rush came up, no try was allowed. What with these immense sides, in a match which might last through four afternoons in succession,² and what with hacking (even though hob-nails and iron plates were not allowed), Rugby football was not then a game for

¹ Football Rules: *Big Side Levée*, Oct. 23, 1849.

² Schoolhouse Match of 1843: *S. H. Fasti*, vol. i. *init.*

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 265

tender-hearted parents to look on with equanimity. The writer has been told by an eye-witness of a certain Old Rugbeian Match, how one who is now a high dignitary of the Church, hacked over a man running with the ball, and the fall broke his collar-bone and caused a compound fracture of the leg. Nowadays we have not only our gloves and leg-guards for cricket, but ankle-guards, ear-guards, and sundry other guards used in the different varieties of football.

Three accounts of the old game have been referred to. The first of these is a description in Homeric Greek of the Sixth Match of 1839, by Franklin Lushington.¹ Football, hunting, love, and war are the only Homeric things which our civilisation still retains, and in the *Φωτοβαλλομαχία* a spirited expression is given to one of them. The "Old Boy" appears as *ἄναξ Ἰγνής*, *ὃς πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἅλλοις*. Other heroes of that olden time are *Βραδυλήϊος*, easy to recognise as the present Dean of Westminster, the tawny-haired Hodson, *ξανθὸς Ὀδειδής*, who proved himself truly an *ἄγος ἀνδρῶν*, and *Μαθηαῖος Θώμας τ'*, *Ἀρνόλδου νίεε δοιῶ*. It is difficult to imagine the exquisite apostle of sweetness and light in the rough-and-tumble of a football match, but so it was. Did he appreciate this poem as a criticism of life? The graphic description of Schoolhouse *v.* School in *Tom Brown's School Days* must be familiar to every one. Who has not held his breath while young Brooke and his bull-dogs went

¹ Printed in the *Rugbeian*, 1840; and reprinted in *Origin of Rugby Football*, p. 38.

into the scrummage, in the days when a scrummage was worthy of the name? The third description,¹ no less telling, is less widely known, and from this I venture to make a considerable extract. It is appropriate that the author should be William Delafield Arnold, a son of the great Head-master.

Drawn up before the Island goal is the Sixth Form, a little band, some forty in number—some huge, strong, massive; others light, smart, active; all eager, courageous, zealous. It is with them as with the warriors of old: not the weight, not the mass, but each man's individual prowess must gain the victory. How well is each acquainted with his particular post and duty! These are to play forward, these to lead the sudden rush, or by their vast bodies check the threatening scrummage, or turn the direction of a tumultuous "run in." These, again, are to play back or forward as occasion offers, the tirailleurs or light infantry of the tiny army; to change the aspect of the moment by a happy drop, and turn the tide of victory from the Island to the white gate. Lastly, there are those who feel that keeping goal, defending the very crown of conquest, is no mean or unworthy task, since beneath those very bars were given to immortality the names of Clough and Harry Thorpe. Nor do the adversaries present a less magnificent and orderly appearance; but alas, it is a host as that of the Philistines. Of four hundred and sixty adversaries two hundred stand forth to battle, leaving the countless multitude to guard the camp. There they stand, those two hundred—the scarlet and gold of the School-

¹ "Football: the Sixth Match." Published as a pamphlet by Crossley and Billington; also quoted in *School Experiences of a Fag* (1854), and *Book of Rugby School* (1856).

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 267

house ; the green and gold of Cotton's ; the purple and silver star of Mayor's ; the flushing red and crescent of Arnold's ; the orange and silver of Price's ; the crossed black of Anstey's, all stand in terrible array against the devoted band. It is the contest of age and weight against numbers ; and numbers are no small help ; and weight in the Fifth and Twenty begins to be painfully respectable. But now all is silent. Far from each other lie the opposing hosts. Between, in a line with the three trees, reposes the yet intact ball. All is hushed—still ! Suddenly, from some stentorian lungs amid the two hundred, comes the shout, "Are you ready?" A moment's pause, a hurried glance all round—and again the silence is broken, and the Sixth leader answers with a solitary emphatic "Yes!" Once more perfect stillness. A single chosen champion of the Fifth steps forth between the two lines, rushes at the quiescent ball. Shouts of "Well kicked!" "Catch it!" and then adieu to words. Those stationary bands, as by a magician's wand, are transformed into one restless, moving, thronging mass. The ball, soon stopped in its aerial career, is lost in the gathering crowd, and the Sixth Match is begun ; and when once begun, who shall describe its progress? Surely no one ungifted with Homeric vision can do it justice ; yet for want of a worthier bard will we ambitiously essay the arduous task.

The ball is caught ; again it rises in the air ; but this time caught no more, for he who vainly stood forth to meet it just touches the ball, and at the same time falls prostrate before the weight of the advancing foe. Onward it goes through the three trees ; but lo ! one adroit, active, cunning, has caught it on the bound, with slippery wiles eludes countless adversaries, and with one successful drop sends it far over the heads of the advancing party. Thus is the tide of war changed with a vengeance. Onward rush the gallant Fifth,

and just as the ball is within a hundred yards of the goal it is caught by some stalwart champion of the Twenty, put under his arm, and suddenly "Maul him!" "Well done!" "Go it!" re-echoes from three hundred lungs, and every member of either side is thronging to the conflict. Then comes the tug of war. The hapless and too adventurous hero who first grasped the ball, and he who first dared to stay his course by his rough embrace, both roll on the ground, locked in each other's arms, the foundation of a pyramid of human flesh, giving vent to screams, yells, and groans unutterable. But no soldier ever grasped his colours more strenuously on the field of battle than does this gallant member of the Twenty the no less precious ball. Stifling, suffocating, crushing backwards and forwards heaves the thickest mass. At last numbers *will* tell: the goal is passed: the gallant holder of the ball, disdaining to speak before, hears the cry "In, In!" and collecting what breath is left in his exhausted lungs, gasps out—"My ball." A side glance—all eyes to the left—and the fact is indisputable: the ball *is* in goal. Instantly every one gets or is dragged up; stray caps are picked up and restored, and the struggling mass dissolved. These, exulting, retire some twenty-five yards; those, mournful, lean against goal posts, or otherwise ease their weary limbs.

At last suspense is over; a try—a failure; no exultation, though deep joy. Slowly and deliberately the ball is kicked out; not, however, without something of military tactic. "Kick towards the three trees, we always do better there, we can keep together; and kick high, so that we may charge up before they catch it"—so counsels some venerable and athletic Nestor; and true to the word up goes the ball, and before it descends, the heavy sons of the Upper Bench are upon it, and with one shout of triumph the three trees—the

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 269

Thermopylae of the Close—are gained, and the ball is hastening towards the school goal. In touch. A dead silence, both parties preparing for a struggle. Out comes the ball; some giant hand strikes it yards on towards the school goal, and, like bloodhounds on the scent, the Sixth close in. “Look out in goal!” Vain cry! Is not a fight going on by the schoolhouse wall, and what discipline shall break the ring? Vain cry! Already has the leader of the Sixth side, the champion of hare and hounds, got the ball under his arm, and who may hope to stop him? There is a sudden cessation of motion; it is evident that the ball is in goal; but who has touched it? Ah, that is the question. “Whose ball?” pant the laggards as they run up. “Theirs,” is the sullen answer in the huge host. “Ours,” the thrilling response from and for the Forty. But it is a long way out, close to the path by the white gate. “Who’ll kick it out?” Grave question! Awful responsibility! At last a man is found; the long line of fellows who can place are drawn up to catch; perfect silence!—the man who is to kick it out walks in and takes up the ball quite quietly—as if more than kingdoms did not depend on his skill! nay, to prove his coolness, he looks round and requests the opposite party to “go in.” At last he kicks—the ball is in the air; forth rush the opposing host as a wave of the sea; but even as the mad wave dashes impotently upon the gallant breakwater, so fruitlessly rush they upon that single man, who, short, sturdy, smiling, has already caught, and like an imprisoned angel hugs the ball. It is caught, and well before too. Now another silence. Who is to kick? Pass over the bashfulness, the reasonable agitation, at length the doomed man, doomed to glory or to bitter disappointment, steps forth between two anxious lines. Those who could not tremble in the scrummage or the charge are gasping and

shaking now ; the enemy with eye and foot alert, prompt for the charge. At length the following short and pithy conversation, always the forerunner of action : "Place it low." "As low as that?" "Yes—but, stop a minute—don't put it down till I give the word—NOW!!!" Like a cannon ball on rushes he, and on rush the charging host ;—but baffled are their attempts ; too truly has the placer done his work ;—the ball is high in the air, and all eyes are starting from their sockets as they watch its course. "Yes—No—Yes, a goal, a decided goal,—by Jove, it's a goal." Yes, it *is* a goal, and there is the cry of "Over."

By this time the "runs" also had reduced themselves to a system.¹ The Big Side Books have been kept since 1837, from which date the names of the Holders have been recorded continuously. The Holder of Big Side Books was of the Schoolhouse for the first four years in succession, and the first name is S. F. Craddock. In the year 1837 we find the following runs: Barby Hill, Bilton, Lawford, Lilbourne and Catthorpe, and Thurlaston. In 1838 the Crick first appears with several others. W. Lea (S. H.) was first recorded winner of the Crick, time not recorded ; and the first recorded winner of the Barby Hill run was Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet. The course in these runs was not always fixed at this early date, so that a comparison of the times would not be of much interest. In the Schoolhouse *Fasti* are a few lists and facts relating to this period. One of them is the list of a Big Side run of 1838, in

¹ *Rugby School Big Side Runs*, last ed. by A. L. Danson. Lawrence : Rugby, 1893.

SCHOOL LIFE IN ARNOLD'S DAY 271

which is the name of Hodson. The Crick run has been described under a very transparent disguise by one who ran in it sixty years ago, and it may be interesting to give here a part of his description :¹—

It was to be the "Crick run" to a little village eight miles from Rugby, and passing round the village back to within a mile or two of the School, where the great "come in" was to take place. At three o'clock about half the house was assembled in the Hall, in a uniform costume of white trousers supported by a black belt, and white jerseys, with caps of various shape, and wide-awakes of every hue. Coats, jackets, or any outer garment are discarded, a very fast run being anticipated from the well-known pluck of the hares. Here they come, with two long canvas bags full of torn-up paper, to strew along their way for "scent." They have been in deep consultation with the leader of the hounds as to the particular line of country they are to take, as in so long a run as the celebrated Crick course, we are not to be delayed by missing the scent and not knowing which way to turn. We give them a partial cheer as they go off, and they scatter a handful of "scent" as they jump through the Hall window, and by this manœuvre gain two minutes more for the race.

Time is up; the leader of the hounds, who is also often a hare, and is determined to catch the hares before they arrive at the terminus, and to do the run quicker than it has ever been done before, puts up his watch, vaults through the window, and walks down to the road, to give every one time to catch him: thus all start together. He begins

¹ *School Experiences of a Fag*, pp. 141-145. The names *Brick* and *Harby*, used by the writer, have been changed to their proper form.

of Corpus, and is now High Master of St. Paul's School, with its scholars one hundred and fifty and three. Thomas William Jex-Blake¹ will shortly meet us as Head-master of Rugby.

Nor is Rugby School found wanting in the field of battle. In the trenches before Sebastopol, in the Indian Mutiny, and in other wars small and great, Rugbeians were found at the front. Henry Sacheverell Wilmot,² now Colonel Sir Henry Wilmot, Bart., C.B., won the Victoria Cross at Lucknow in 1858. His company was engaged with a large force of mutineers on the Iron Bridge. After a while he found himself hemmed in with four men only at the end of a narrow street. Two of the men picked up a wounded comrade and began to retreat, Captain Wilmot (as he then was) covering the movement, and firing with the men's rifles, which they loaded and handed on to him. They were successful in getting off, though not without wounds, and all three received the coveted honour. Three Rugbeians took part in the Balaclava charge: Richard Riversdale Glyn,³ George Gooch Clowes,⁴ who was wounded, and John Pratt Winter,⁵ who was killed. Drury Wake,⁶ of the Bengal Civil Service, and C.B., was known in the Mutiny as the Hero of Arrah. He was magistrate of that place, and made a most gallant defence against the rebels. Major-General Crealock,⁷ saw much service

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We must not forget to name some Rugbeians who became famous cricketers or athletes. C. G. Wynch,⁴ who appears in the Rugby Eleven of 1850, was one of the best leg-hitters in England. A. P. Law⁵ is familiar to Oxford men as "Infelix." E. R. F. Vickars⁶ carried out his bat to Sebastopol and Burmah, where he died quite young. Another soldier-cricketer was Major W. J. Kempson.⁷ Mr. A. G. Butler did not leap his last at Rugby, but won the high jump at Oxford, and played for the university eleven. As for bowling, who knows not the name of David Buchanan?⁸

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beer saved by the fags, was mixed with spirits and drunk hot. This had been formerly combined with the singing in Hall; but latterly the Club preferred to keep the Hall to themselves, except on one Saturday night shortly before Christmas, when the ordeal described in *Tom Brown* was undergone by all comers. This Club continued to exist until Christmas 1845, when it was finally broken up, and some of the members sent away, including two of the Sixth.¹

Such is the picture of Rugby School life two generations ago. It will strike the observer not only by its resemblances to the present, but by its differences. School customs are long-lived, but many have died at Rugby; and the very slang of former days would be Hebrew to the schoolboy of to-day. He no longer "shirks," or treats his friends to a "guttle," and he would be astonished at the idea of playing football in "navvies." But words and customs cover much the same things in different ages; and if in the present we are somewhat less rough, the same honest and courageous heart beats beneath a skin tattooed in a different pattern.

¹ *Schoolhouse Fasti*, vol. i. *init.*; where two lists of the Club are given, for 1843 and 1845.

XIII

AFTERMATH

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, D.C.L., 1842-1850—EDWARD
MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., 1850-1858.

ON July 8, 1842, Archibald Campbell Tait¹ was elected Head-master of Rugby. Tait was at that time well known in England by his Protest against the famous Tract Ninety. He had been for some years tutor of Balliol, and had there come in contact with several of Arnold's pupils—for instance, Stanley and Clough. Arnold himself had written him a letter about Tract Ninety, which showed him to have been thoroughly in sympathy with the position taken up in the Protest. Among the other candidates for Rugby School were C. J. Vaughan and Bonamy Price. Vaughan had a prior claim by statute as an old Rugbeian, and was beyond comparison the better scholar; yet, for reasons which do not appear, the Trustees passed him over in favour of Tait. Some ill-feeling seems

¹ Son of Crawford Tait, of Edinburgh. Balliol College, Oxford: matriculated Jan. 29, 1830, age 18; scholar, 1830-35; B.A., 1833; Fellow, 1834-42; M.A., 1836; D.C.L., 1842; junior dean, 1836; tutor and logic lecturer, 1837-42; catechetical lecturer, 1840; D.D. by diploma, 1869; F.R.S. Dean of Carlisle, 1850-56; Bishop of London, 1856-69; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1868-82.

to have been aroused among the staff, probably on this account; but it did not last. On those who came in contact with him Tait left the impression of a conscientious and hard-working man, and he seems to have had a good influence on the School.¹ If he could not easily "wear the giant's armour," that is hardly to be wondered at.

The restriction put upon the number of boys in School was now removed, and the numbers gradually rose to 493,² the highest hitherto attained. Some disadvantages followed on this change, and the School got a little out of gear in consequence. A great influx of new boys set in, and the houses became overcrowded; and the growing School probably overtaxed Tait's powers of organisation. The work of a school was not entirely suited to his temperament; and his biographer records ample evidence to show that the "awful responsibility" of his work was too heavy for his powers. Arnold's essentially human character, with its robust common-sense, and his tact and simplicity, saved him from any suspicion of priggishness; but his successor pushed Arnold's methods too far, and it is to be feared that there was too much introspection and too little naturalness in the type of character which he fostered.

Whatever may be the opinion held on this point, Tait's pupils entertained for him a deep and sincere regard. The boys found a warm welcome in that happy family circle which has been so tastefully drawn for us by

¹ *Life*, i. 116, 117.

² *The Public Schools*, p. 391.

his own hand.¹ His beautiful and gracious wife was ever happy to talk or read to those in the Schoolhouse. To her husband Mrs. Tait was a help indeed, keeping his accounts for him, and relieving him of many of those minor matters which a Head-master has to attend to. When the new studies were built to the Schoolhouse, there were seventy boys in it, and to look after this large family must have been a task of no small difficulty. For eight years this task was fulfilled with tact and success; and when at the end of his Head-mastership Dr. Tait was leaving Rugby for the last time, the boys took the horses out of the carriage and drew it down to the station themselves.² When Dr. Tait resigned the Head-mastership on being appointed Dean of Carlisle, the Trustees expressed their satisfaction that he had "fully maintained the character and reputation which the School obtained under the distinguished man who preceded him."³

During those eight years there are few events to chronicle. Soon after Tait's coming a fund was collected to erect a monument and an Arnold Library in memory of the late Head-master. In 1846 Mr. Hussey drew up an estimate,⁴ and a room was built adjoining the old Sixth School, to serve as a library and museum: the cost was £1500. The process of enlarging the school premises was proceeded with by degrees. On the site of the present New Quad there were then standing a number

¹ *Catherine and Crawford Tait*, pp. 16 ff. (Macm., 1879).

² *Op cit.*, p. 34.

³ Order of Nov. 9, 1849.

⁴ Order of Dec. 17, 1846.

of old cottages, one of them well known to old Rugbeians as Sally Harrowell's. These were a danger to the School from their unsanitary condition; and when at length a fever broke out in these buildings, Tait bought up the block for £750, which was afterwards repaid him out of the school funds.¹ At the boys' request, these were pulled down, and a fives court was built on the site, the old fives court being not enough for their wants.² As the arrangements for illness were not satisfactory, it was directed that sick-rooms should be set apart in each boarding-house;³ and not long after a regular sanatorium was provided on the Barby Road.⁴ In 1845 a number of new studies were built in the Schoolhouse.⁵ A field was added to the Close, and in 1847 the Island ceased to be an island for ever, the moat being finally drained dry.⁶ A new transept was added to the chapel, in memory of two former masters, Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Mayor;⁷ the architect was Mr. Penrose. This is the north transept, where Arnold's monument now lies. A sum of £30 was also expended in buying Communion plate.⁸

Dr. Tait admitted 1158 boys in all into Rugby School, and there is a goodly tale of university distinctions to be divided among them. Let the place of honour be assigned to one who has been the delight of thousands of children, young and old: the immortal author of *Alice in Wonder-*

¹ Order of June 30, 1848.

² Order of June 14, 1843.

³ Order of June 25, 1845.

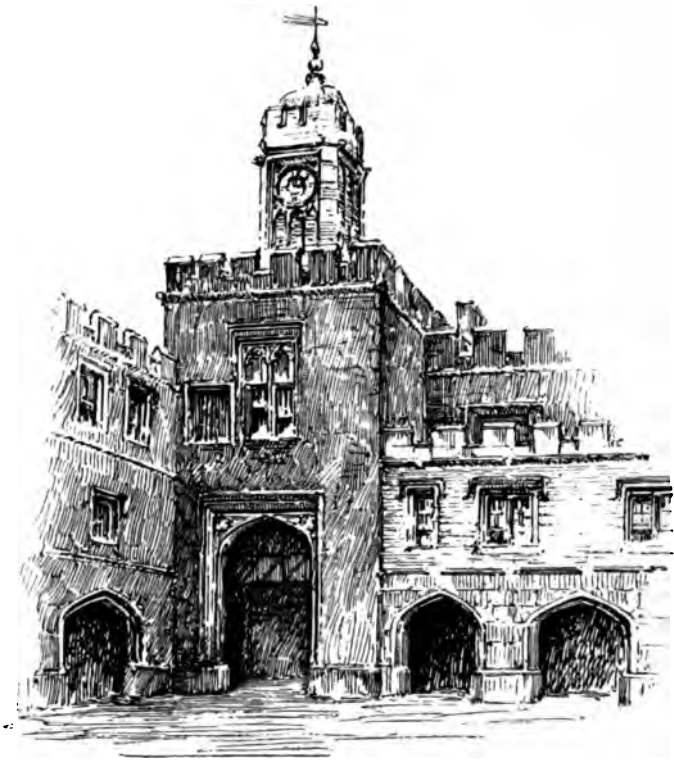
⁷ Order of same date.

² Same date.

⁴ Order of June 3, 1847.

⁶ Order of June 3, 1847.

⁸ Order of June 12, 1844.



OLD QUADRANGLE, AND ENTRANCE TO THE SCHOOLHOUSE HALL.
(*Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean, Rugby.*)

land and *Alice through the Looking-Glass*. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson¹ is known to the *Rugby Register* as

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to take effect from midsummer 1850.¹ Few outward changes occurred during the period of his mastership. In 1851 a second transept was added to the chapel² on the south side, and in the following year Arnold's "old enemy," the flat roof, was removed, and an open roof substituted, which greatly improved the appearance of the interior. In 1855 the organ was moved from the west window, which had been completely blocked by it, to a house built for it on the north side of the chapel. The organ gallery was taken away, and the screen placed back against the west wall. The two square pews which so offended the eye at the east end were removed, and the floor was laid in a tessellated pavement. A new porch was built in 1856 at the west end, partly or wholly at the expense of the boys, who subscribed for it.³ At the same time the west window was enlarged, and other improvements were made in that part of the building. Three new windows of stained glass were inserted. The first, representing the Flight into Egypt, was put up in 1852 by the old Rugbeians in India, in memory of their comrades who had fallen there. It was made by the Kelnors of Nuremberg, the same firm which furnished some of the windows of Cologne Cathedral.

Fellow of Merton, 1841-46; M.A., 1842; D.C.L., 1850; D.D., 1856
Minister of Quebec Chapel, 1858-59; Incumbent of St. John's, Paddington, 1859-67; Prebendary of St. Paul's, Chaplain to the Queen
Dean of Norwich, 1866.

¹ Order of Dec. 17, 1849.

² For chapel, see *Book of Rugby School*, p. 74.

³ *Books of Big Side Levée*, 1855.

Dr. Goulburn presented the second, also made by the same firm, the subject being Christ blessing the little children. The third is a window by Messrs. Hardman, the Confession of the Centurion, placed there in memory of the old Rugbeians who fell in the Crimea. Over the Communion-table was an old painting of the School by Vandyke, presented by Mr. M. H. Bloxam. In the Close, too, alterations of various sorts were going on. The Headmaster presented a field adjoining "Tait's field" in 1854,¹ and soon after some of the trees between the Old and New Closes were felled. In 1856 the New Close was for the first time used for cricket. Part of the Close which previously sloped very much down to Pontines, was levelled in the following year.

Such is the uneventful history of this reign; and amid this calm the work of the School went on much as usual. A goodly list of scholars may be made from the names of this generation of Rugbeians. In one year, 1857, which has been called the *Annus Mirabilis* of Rugby, the School carried off nearly all the open scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge. Either university owes much of its philosophy to Rugby: Cambridge to Professor Henry Sidgwick,² author of "Methods of Ethics" and "Principles of Political Economy," and to S. H. Hodgeson,³ founder of the Aristotelian Society, and author of several books on metaphysics; Oxford to Professor T. H. Green,⁴ author of "Prolegomena to Ethics." The name of

¹ *Big Side Levée Books*; *Schoolhouse Fasti*.

² Entered 1852.

³ Entered 1846.

⁴ Entered 1850.

Arthur Sidgwick¹ has long been associated with Rugby, as of one who knows the secret how to combine amusement with instruction. Not content with philosophy and Greek, Rugby must needs teach Oxford Latin; on which mission Professor Robinson Ellis² set forth many years ago, and his task is not yet done. Many a school has had to thank Rugby for a head-master: University College School for Henry Weston Eve,³ Bedford Modern School for Robert Burton Poole,⁴ and the High School of Newcastle, Staffordshire, for Francis Elliott Kitchener.⁵ Charles Henry Tawney,⁶ formerly Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and now Librarian at the India Office, is well known to all Orientalists. No scholar needs to be reminded how much Sir Edward Maunde Thompson⁷ has done for students of palæography. Dr. Goulburn also educated a practical theologian in the person of Bishop Webb,⁸ and a theoretical, Professor Henry Wace,⁹ late Principal of King's College, London. To the bench Rugby gave Lord Justice Bowen,¹⁰ who added to his brilliant scholarship and legal ability a fame no less brilliant in the football scrummage. Thomas Brassey, who in 1851 was a new boy, perhaps trembling at the thought of singing songs with a tallow dip in each hand, was destined to become a Lord of the Admiralty and to receive a peerage.

¹ Entered 1853.⁴ Entered 1855.⁷ Entered 1854.² Entered 1850.⁵ Entered 1854.⁸ Entered 1855.¹⁰ Entered 1850.³ Entered 1853.⁶ Entered 1851.⁹ Entered 1850.

Rugbeian warriors of this period are found in all the wars of England: in Russia and the East, in Abyssinia and Zululand. Lieut.-Colonel Mitford¹ was in Hodson's Horse during the Indian Mutiny: he won the Victoria Cross for saving life at the risk of his own. Another Rugbeian lost his life in a deed such as has qualified many for that distinction. John Dawson² was sixteen years old when he joined the army, and set out for the Crimea. There he was in charge of a number of wounded men at the time when a French siege train blew up on Nov. 15, 1855. The explosion did him no harm, but he rushed into the burning park, and began carrying off the shells to prevent any damage to those under his charge. One of these shells exploded in his arms, and Dawson was mortally wounded. Miss Nightingale, who nursed him, wrote of him as "the gentle and the brave."

In the department of sports and pastimes we find W. H. Bullock,³ the cricketer, who was also a war correspondent in the Franco-Prussian War; C. Booth,⁴ captain of the Cambridge Eleven, who played for the Marylebone Club against the Australians; E. Rutter,⁵ the Middlesex slow bowler; R. S. Hills,⁶ who made the first century against the School; E. G. Sandford,⁷ afterwards Arch-deacon of Exeter, a well-known bat and wicket-keeper, who played for the Oxford Eleven and the Gentlemen

¹ R. C. W. R. Mitford, entered 1851.

² J. W. J. Dawson, entered 1850.

³ Entered 1850. He changed his name to Hall.

⁴ Entered 1856.

⁵ Entered 1853.

⁶ Entered 1853.

⁷ Entered 1852.

of England ; H. F. Kelly,¹ who rowed for two years in the Oxford Eight ; and last, but not least, C. S. Dakyns.² Dakyns' achievements on Old Big Side are described as marvellous, and not to be credited by those who had never seen him in his prime. Whether for running, dodging, tackling, or dropping with either foot, he seems to have been unsurpassed.

"Many a time," says the historian of the game, "have I seen him drop a goal from a distance of fifty or sixty yards, when an opponent has had firm hold of one of his arms, but failed to get possession of the ball ; which, held by the string, Dakyns would let fall from his unencumbered hand in front of an unerring foot. . . . I have no hesitation in stating my opinion—which, I should say, is shared by many players who have watched the Rugby game carefully for two or three decades—that the famous Pup Dakyns was the best all-round football player who ever donned a jersey."

In 1846 we find the rules of Rugby football first codified.³ From these it appears that picking up the ball from the ground was not yet legal. The practice, however, soon began to be followed, much to the indignation of old Rugbeians, who in 1856⁴ raised a protest against it. Running into touch with the ball was not allowed, nor "standing on the goal bar" to prevent the ball from going over ! A player was off-side if the ball touched a player behind him, and remained so until one of the

¹ Entered 1857.

² Entered 1855. See Marshall's *Football*, pp. 79 and 80.

³ *Origin of R. F.*, pp. 28-32.

⁴ *Big Side Levée Books*, 1856.

other side kick it. A rudimentary penalty kick was allowed if any one took a punt when not entitled to it. There was no referee, but the "heads of sides or their deputies" decided all disputes. It may be interesting to say that the *Fasti* contains detailed accounts of nearly all Big Side matches from this period onwards.

One more amusement of the boys must be mentioned, not without regret that it should have been allowed to drop out of use. We have seen how the drama was cultivated at Rugby under Dr. Wooll, and it seems likely that the practice of getting up theatrical entertainments may have gone on at intervals since Macready's time. At all events, here we find them in full course almost as soon as the Schoolhouse *Fasti* begins. In the winter of 1856 the Schoolhouse Hall entertained friends with the representation of a comedy entitled "Only a Halfpenny," followed by the farce of "Box and Cox." In the next year two performances are given, one in April and one in November. For the last occasion there is a printed programme showing the cast. This continues for some time as a regular event each half year.

In 1845 the School Debating Society was finally organised on a firm basis; and from that year to the present its records have been kept with a few breaks. The first President is W. P. Warburton,¹ of Cotton's, afterwards Fellow of All Souls', and honorary Canon of Winchester. J. R. Byrne² was Secretary, and W. D. Arnold³ "Ser-

¹ Entered 1841.

² Entered 1841.

³ Entered 1839.

geant-at-Arms." The first recorded meeting was held on Saturday, March 15, when Mr. Bradby (afterwards Head-master of Haileybury) proposed "that Sir James Gresham was justified in his treatment of the Public Correspondence." There were five speakers, twenty-four voters, and three "spectators admitted." The meetings succeed each other at very short intervals, once in a week, and sometimes twice. Officials hold office for a month only, when new elections are made. Among the speakers are Waddington, Conington, Hort, and other names since well known; Matthew Arnold is a frequent visitor, and sometimes a bevy of ladies encourage the tourney with their smiles. The subjects are, as usual, chosen mainly from current politics; literary questions are discussed now and then; but, strange to say, our familiar friend the Ghost makes no apparition.

The literary efforts of the School went on side by side with the Debating Society. The *Rugby Miscellany* was started in 1845, and limited in prospect to ten numbers. The best piece in the volume is J. F. Bright's poem on *Athanasius*. All the writers assumed fanciful initials, and it may be of interest to identify some of these. John Conington wrote, over the signature F. D. M., a number of thoughtful essays on subjects historical and literary. A. G. Butler, as Q., is the author of the "Miseries of a Winter Whole School Day at Rugby."

"I remember, I remember, I should think I *did* remember
The six o'clock uprising in the darkness of December,"

wails the schoolboy laureate, and then proceeds to describe

the well-known round in a minor key. Another description is given by G. G. Bradley¹ and W. P. Warburton, and signed ξ: "Experiences of our Life at Rugby." The writers carry us into Big School at 7 A.M. for prayers, with the hurrying crowd of boys.

"Ten minutes more," the article goes on, "they are scattered every way; some in mercenary groups, like votaries of some heathen shrine around the priest, whose altar is probably the pump, and whose mysteries the secrets of the lesson."

The next quarter finds them all stowed away in their different schools, and by 8.30 they are at breakfast, amid the sweet monotony of "rounds, tea, or chocolate; or chocolate, rounds, tea!" Next comes "a stroll to Crossley's"—then dinner—"then the cheerful suicide of a leaping party," the evening task, the well-earned rest. Football, of course, claims its meed of mention:²—

The great match; . . . and close by the shrill island, full as an ant-hill in egging time—its heroes writhing and knotting their bodies into shapes which a monkey of any self-respect would be ashamed of, and all that their names may be divided from nothing."

It is interesting, too, to read a schoolboy's view of Arnold's reformed organisation.

"The Sixth Form," writes one contributor³—"an aristocracy of talent and worth, created neither by birth, interest,

¹ Contributions by him alone are signed D. E. R.

² Page 8.

³ Page 54.

nor personal strength. It was a happy thought, and spoke the observant mind in him who first set boys to govern boys, and who turned those who should otherwise have been the ringleaders in every disturbance into an organised and responsible nobility, with power, privileges, and a character of their own to preserve."

The *New Rugbeian* was started in 1858, and ran through three volumes. One poet laments the departed glories of football: ¹—

This is the Football bigside; the murmuring fags and the no-caps,
 Frosted with drizzle in garments warm, indistinct in the twilight,
 Stand as others of old, with voices sad and exclaiming;
 Stand like martyrs, they think; and nursing themselves in their
 greatcoats,
 Wander like spirits of ill, the frequent punt-about heed not . . .
 This is the Football bigside: but where are the navvies² that
 through it
 Hackt like the woodsman that fells in the forest the oak with his
 hatchet? . . .
 Gone are those well-known forms, and their navvies for ever
 departed. . . .

Another poet turns the Big Side Levée into Homeric Greek.³ The unhappy fag takes up his parable,⁴ as at the fire he stands forlorn, "fagged, and toasting without measure." "Why," he indignantly asks, "why should we go fetch hot water? eggs and coffee ever boil?" and concludes with an appeal for mercy:—

By our fat at hall fires wasted,
 By our baked and roasted legs,

¹ i. 54.

² Heavy Boots.

³ i. 230.

⁴ i. 278.

By the miseries that we've tasted,
Heating milk and boiling eggs;
By our sufferings, since you brought us
To the man-degrading broom,
All sustained with patience—taught us
Daily in your dusty room.

*House Sketches*¹ introduce us to—

The filthy mixtures we used to drink under the name of tea or coffee for breakfast; and then the dinners! huge lumps of boiled salt beef, more salted than boiled; queer substances called hashes, and resurrection pies, as they used to be called; . . . the puddings; strange jams economically laid out on masses of strange paste; . . . lumps of suet . . . made edible by pouring treacle over it, . . . the unctuous suet and the treacle full of dead flies; sometimes they took the flies out of the treacle and put them on the suet, and called them currants."

But all was not hardship, and grumblers felt at peace when they went skating on Bilton pond, or snowballing one another in the quad, or fishing for farmers' ducks, which were loyally paid for when the boys had had their fun. Whole holidays at this time were rare, for Arnold had abolished the monthly whole holidays, or rather commuted them for the half-holiday every three weeks, which is still called "Middle Week."² When one was given, it seems to have been the correct thing to hire a horse and cart and drive about all day.³ Shirking was abolished by Goulburn,⁴ and with it the extraordinary scenes which used to occur at the bathing-places when a praepostor came in sight.

¹ ii. 33.

² ii. 190.

³ ii. 189.

⁴ ii. 189.

An abortive rebellion took place when Dr. Tait was Head-master.¹ On one occasion he was ill, and a committee of masters reigned in his stead; the time seemed favourable, and the fags resolved to rebel against the authority of the Sixth. So, at an hour when the Sixth were all in school, an assembly of fags was convened in the quad. The Lower Fifth joined them, but the Upper Fifth took side with the Sixth. A table was placed in the midst, whence some orator or brother-slave might address the meeting. The idea was to set on their tyrants, to give them a sound drubbing, and then to let them go. But it happened that three of the Sixth were stopping out; and meanwhile a rumour of the uprising was brought to Anstey's, where the three sick heroes lay. Delay was not to be thought of, and like Nicholson in the Punjaub, the doughty three arose from their beds or sofas, and, cane in hand, sallied forth to execute vengeance dire. Dashing undaunted into the midst of the mob, they laid about them so stoutly that in a trice all the malcontents had clean disappeared, and the table was left a solitary witness to the frustrated plot.

Another small "row" occurred a couple of years before the Fags' Rebellion.² One day rumour ran rife that something disgraceful had been done; shops robbed, or what not. There was a suppressed excitement at first calling-over, as the praeceptors walked up and down the middle of Big School, keeping silence. The Head-master, who was new to his work, entered with the master of

¹ ii. 188.

² ii. 255.

the week, and the head of the School called over; while the praeceptor of the week answered for one or another, "Absent with leave," "Sick-room," "French or German list," "Big Side." When the Shell had passed through the door, and the Upper Fourth was about to be called over, the Master said, "In consequence of certain disgraceful conduct (not specified) on the part of certain boys (not named), the whole town will be put out of bounds to the Lower School, including the Upper Fourth." This was a thunderclap: no visits to Frost's, or Jacomb's, or Webb's, or any of the tradesmen, without special leave! And if a master caught a boy out of bounds, he would set 500 lines of Virgil in a trice, or 250 of Homer, or lock him up for a half-holiday. Things were worse in Wooll's day, when to be caught out of bounds meant a birching; but this was bad enough, in all conscience. The consequence was, that a gentle sibilant sound arose from the corners of the room, and swelled into an unmistakable hiss. "Thos" was sent packing off for block and birches; all the boys were to be "coached" on the spot. The boys were then collected all together on one side of Big School, and those who hissed were called upon to walk over. About eighty went over, leaving sixty or so behind, feeling rather mean, though (with the exception of one or two cowards) they had taken no part in the hissing. The Head-master decimated these, and picked out every tenth man for execution. A big bully was standing next the lad who tells the tale, and thinking he would be just a tenth man, forced the little boy to change places with him; but it so

happened that he had miscounted, and found himself one of the scapegoats after all. The eight boys chosen were then and there flogged publicly in Big School, contrary to all custom.

When the boys reached their houses, six of the victims were at once "granted the liberties of the Fifth," and excused all fagging; while one of the cowards who had not owned up to hissing was flogged by his fellows until he wished he had. That same evening about a hundred of the Lower School and Upper Fourth, together with about half the Sixth, marched aggressively up and down the town. Next morning a master met a Lower School boy down by the Eagle, and in a most impressive tone set him one line of Virgil to write out by the end of the week. Praepostors called out "On!" at the top of each street, the fags responded with "Thank you," and nobody took the slightest notice of the new rule. The Headmaster had the good sense to let the matter drop, and soon, we may hope, retrieved his error.

the week, and the head of the School called over; while the praepostor of the week answered for one or another, "Absent with leave," "Sick-room," "French or German list," "Big Side." When the Shell had passed through the door, and the Upper Fourth was about to be called over, the Master said, "In consequence of certain disgraceful conduct (not specified) on the part of certain boys (not named), the whole town will be put out of bounds to the Lower School, including the Upper Fourth." This was a thunderclap: no visits to Frost's, or Jacomb's, or Webb's, or any of the tradesmen, without special leave! And if a master caught a boy out of bounds, he would set 500 lines of Virgil in a trice, or 250 of Homer, or lock him up for a half-holiday. Things were worse in Wooll's day, when to be caught out of bounds meant a birching; but this was bad enough, in all conscience. The consequence was, that a gentle sibilant sound arose from the corners of the room, and swelled into an unmistakable hiss. "Thos" was sent packing off for block and birches; all the boys were to be "coached" on the spot. The boys were then collected all together on one side of Big School, and those who hissed were called upon to walk over. About eighty went over, leaving sixty or so behind, feeling rather mean, though (with the exception of one or two cowards) they had taken no part in the hissing. The Head-master decimated these, and picked out every tenth man for execution. A big bully was standing next the lad who tells the tale, and thinking he would be just a tenth man, forced the little boy to change places with him; but it so

Canterbury, who held his post at Rugby for eleven years. Dr. Temple improved the teaching of natural science (which had been introduced in the previous reign), and built in 1860 a laboratory and other schools on the site of Sally Harrowell's house. This block stands on the north side of the new quadrangle, adjoining old Big School. In 1865 an event took place which had been long looked forward to. A large elm, one of the finest in the Close, stood at the east end of the chapel. In order to lengthen the chapel, as it was proposed to do, this elm had to be got out of the way. As it would have been a thousand pities to cut the tree down, a contractor undertook to shift it from its place. Huge trenches were dug all round it, the roots were undercut, and ropes were fastened from the branches to pegs in the ground, in case it might fall. The whole neighbourhood of the tree looked like the skeleton of a gigantic umbrella. The huge mass supported on trucks, a deep trench was dug to its new resting-place, and rails laid down in it. All Rugby was agog to see the lord of the forest move. But the contractor did not contract for a raree-show, and accordingly, early in the morning of the first of December, before the town was up, the tree was moved. It is pleasant to add that the migration did it no harm, and it still flourishes.

In the internal arrangements of the School few changes were made. The practice of having parallel forms, first introduced by Dr. Tait, was continued; and in 1863 scholarships were first offered for open competi-

tion. In 1866 the custom of dividing the school year into two halves was abolished, and from that time Rugby, like the universities, had its three terms. More attention began to be paid to physical comfort in the houses; and in 1864 the inhabitants of the Schoolhouse came back to find the traditional steel forks gone for ever, and replaced by magnificent electro-plate. Among the changes introduced by Dr. Temple, that which excited most comment was the abolition of standing in goal. For the future, no-caps were not to be required to stand in goal except on the first day of the Sixth Match, in the Old Rugbeian Match, and on one other day thereafter to be arranged. This momentous upheaval took place in 1859, and loud were the laments of old Rugbeians when they heard of it. No lament of the no-caps has been preserved to posterity.

We learn incidentally that *Tom Brown's School Days* had already made Rugby famous. This book was published in 1857, and in 1860 a solemn ceremony took place. Mr. William Mills, of Connecticut, U.S.A., was aroused to such admiration by what he read in the story, that he deputed a friend, Mr. Henry Day, to cross the Atlantic and present in his name a large flag of crimson velvet to the Schoolhouse. But another event, still more impressive, befell in Dr. Temple's mastership. In 1867 it was his lot to celebrate the Tercentenary of the founding of Rugby School. In the same year was begun the block of schools forming the New Quadrangle.

It is worthy of remark how many of Dr. Temple's

assistants were drafted off to take charge of other schools. In 1862 the Rev. Charles Evans was elected Head-master of King Edward's School, Birmingham; the Rev. A. G. Butler went to Haileybury, and the Rev. J. Percival became the first Head-master of Clifton College. On his resignation in 1878 another Rugby master, Rev. J. M. Wilson, took his place. In 1868 Mr. A. W. Potts left to be Head-master of Fettes College, Edinburgh, where he made himself a name among the most distinguished of his profession. In 1869 the Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake became Principal of Cheltenham College, and the Rev. E. W. Benson (who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) became Head-master of Wellington College. A few years later Mr. J. S. Phillpotts departed for Bedford, Mr. F. E. Kitchener for Newcastle, the Rev. J. Robertson for Haileybury. Take these in conjunction with the Rugby masters who had previously been elected to other schools, and with Rugby boys no less distinguished, and it is clear that the influence of Rugby upon English schools has been great. And at the period in question, the influence of Rugby meant the influence of Thomas Arnold.

In 1869 Dr. Temple made his farewell to Rugby. At the farewell sermon an interesting company was gathered, which included Thomas Hughes and his brother George, Dean Stanley, Matthew Arnold, and two other sons of Dr. Arnold. The chapel in which they met was substantially the same in which Dr. Arnold had poured out his heart week after week; and what made the

tion. In 1866 the custom of dividing the school year into two halves was abolished, and from that time Rugby, like the universities, had its three terms. More attention began to be paid to physical comfort in the houses; and in 1864 the inhabitants of the Schoolhouse came back to find the traditional steel forks gone for ever, and replaced by magnificent electro-plate. Among the changes introduced by Dr. Temple, that which excited most comment was the abolition of standing in goal. For the future, no-caps were not to be required to stand in goal except on the first day of the Sixth Match, in the Old Rugbeian Match, and on one other day thereafter to be arranged. This momentous upheaval took place in 1859, and loud were the laments of old Rugbeians when they heard of it. No lament of the no-caps has been preserved to posterity.

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member is elected by Oxford, one by Cambridge, and one each by the Royal Society, the Lord Chancellor, the Masters of the School, and the Trustees of the Charity. Two meetings at least are held in each year, and five make a quorum. The school land and buildings are vested in them. With them lies also the election of a Head-master, and the decision concerning number, rank, position, and emoluments of the assistants. By the same Act it was provided that the old Foundationers should be gradually done away with; and in order to provide for the needs of the town according to the intent of the Founder, a subordinate school was established, of which more anon. Regulations were laid down providing for major and minor scholarships to be held in the School, and for the leaving exhibitions to the universities. Three major and four minor exhibitions, of £60 and £30 respectively, tenable for four years, are awarded every year. As regards emoluments, the Head-master has a house of 80 or 90 boys rent free, and receives the entrance fees, and a capitation fee of £1 per term for each boy in the School, up to a maximum of 450 boarders and 50 day boys. The fifteen senior masters receive £500 a year, with £100 more if they have no boarding-house; in addition to which they have a capitation fee of £1 a year for every boy above the number of 300 up to a maximum of 500. The remainder of the statutory masters (it being necessary by statute that there should be one master for every 20 boys, including the Head-master) receive as their salary £450 a year. The board-

ing-house masters can hold a house for not more than fifteen years, and not after the term in which they



NEW QUADRANGLE.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

become sixty years of age. Such is the present constitution; but it should be observed that vested rights are respected, and that masters who were in the School before 1887 fall under a separate scheme.

The Subordinate School, or, as it is commonly called, the Lower School, was opened in 1878, its first Head-master being an old Rugbeian, Mr. H. T. Rhoades. The Head-master is appointed by the Head-master of Rugby School, with the concurrence of the Governing Body, but he appoints his own assistants. The boys are charged a small fee, but there are two free scholars appointed every year.

The Head-master next appointed was Dr. Hayman,¹ who had already been Head-master of St. Olave's School, Southwark, of the Cheltenham Grammar School, and of Bradfield College. During his short mastership the new scheme for the government of the School came into operation, and in 1871 the first Governing Body, as distinct from the Trustees, was appointed.

A good deal of building was done during Dr. Hayman's stay. Funds collected by the friends and pupils of Dr. Temple were devoted to the enlargement of the chapel, and to the erection of new schools and the Temple Observatory. The architect was Mr. Butterfield, and the buildings must be seen to be appreciated. In 1872 the enlarged chapel was consecrated by the Bishop of Worcester, and two windows of stained glass put up in memory

¹ Son of P. D. Hayman, of London. St. John's College, Oxford: matriculated Jan. 28, 1841, age 18; scholar, 1841-44; Fellow, 1844-45; B.A., 1845; M.A., 1849; B.D., 1854; D.D., 1870; assistant master at Charterhouse, 1852-55; Head-master of St. Olave's, 1855-59; of Cheltenham Grammar School, 1859-68; of Bradfield College, 1868-69; assistant preacher at the Temple, 1854-57; Rector of Addingham, Lancashire, 1874; honorary Canon of Carlisle, 1884.—*Alumni Oxonienses*.





TABLE-TOP.

(From a photograph by E. H. Speight, Rugby.)

To face page 305.

of Mr. Buckoll and Mr. Hutchinson, who had lately died. In the same year the new schools were opened, those, that is, which form the new quadrangle; and the gymnasium, begun in the previous year, was finished.

In 1874 Dr. Hayman resigned, and he was succeeded by Dr. Jex-Blake,¹ the first old Rugbeian who had been chosen into this post since the passing of the Act of 1777. At school Dr. Jex-Blake had won the Crick run in 1850; his time (1^h 24') was the record until it was bettered by two minutes in 1863. He left a memorial behind him on one of those "little tables," which reads thus:—

— Sandford and Blake,
Jolly good fellows, and no mistake.

This table is shown in our illustration; the distich is on the left, near the middle, very small. The first name has been "dished," or cut out by some later hand. Dr. Jex-Blake left other memorials behind him when he finally departed from Rugby, in his generous gifts to the School, one of which is the familiar "tosh" or swimming-bath.

Dr. Jex-Blake made one change in the administration of the School, by introducing a regular evening preparation in Hall for the lower boys (1874). Previously this had been done or not as a house master pleased. In some

¹ Son of T. S. Blake, London. University College, Oxford: matriculated March 21, 1851, age 19; scholar, 1851; B.A., 1855; Fellow of Queen's, 1855-58; M.A., 1857; B.D. and D.D., 1873; Principal of Cheltenham College, 1868-74; assistant master at Rugby, 1858-68; Rector of Alvechurch, 1886; Dean of Wells.

houses only the master spent "a certain part of the evening in the boys' hall, at his own work, thus effectually preventing those undesirable congregations of bigger and idler boys round the fires, and being at hand to give any reasonable help."¹ The new system prevented these undesirable congregations still more effectually. In 1876 the Head-master presented the School with their "tosh," in the Close; the Temple Reading-Room and Art Museum was built in 1878; and in 1883 the New Racquet Court was built. Dr. Jex-Blake also did much to encourage the study and appreciation of art in the School, and enriched the museum with many gifts. In 1886, shortly before his resignation, a Modern side was started. In the same year the "little tables" in the Sixth School were exchanged for desks, and the tops of the tables fixed upon the walls.

In 1884 Boehm's beautiful monument to Dean Stanley was put up in the chapel. In the following year (1885) the block of buildings was commenced which contains New Big School and a number of class-rooms. The Big School is provided with a fine organ, and on the walls are hung the pictures of former Head-masters or those who were educated at Rugby. In the same year Caldecott's was added to the school playing-grounds.

The Head-master next appointed was Dr. Percival.²

¹ *The Public Schools*, p. 394.

² Son of William Percival, of Brough, Westmoreland. Queen's College, Oxford: matriculated June 22, 1854, age 19; tabarder, 1854-58; B.A., 1858; Fellow, 1858-63; M.A., 1861; select preacher, 1882; Head-master of Clifton, 1862-78; Prebendary of Exeter, 1871-82;

Like his predecessor, Dr. Percival had been an assistant master at Rugby. In 1888 the Drawing School was



NEW BIG SCHOOL.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

built, and in 1889 the Rugby School Home Mission was founded. In 1895 Mr. Benn, an old Rugbeian, left

President of Trinity, 1878-87; Canon of Bristol, 1882-87; Bishop of Hereford, 1895.—*Alumni Ozonienses.*

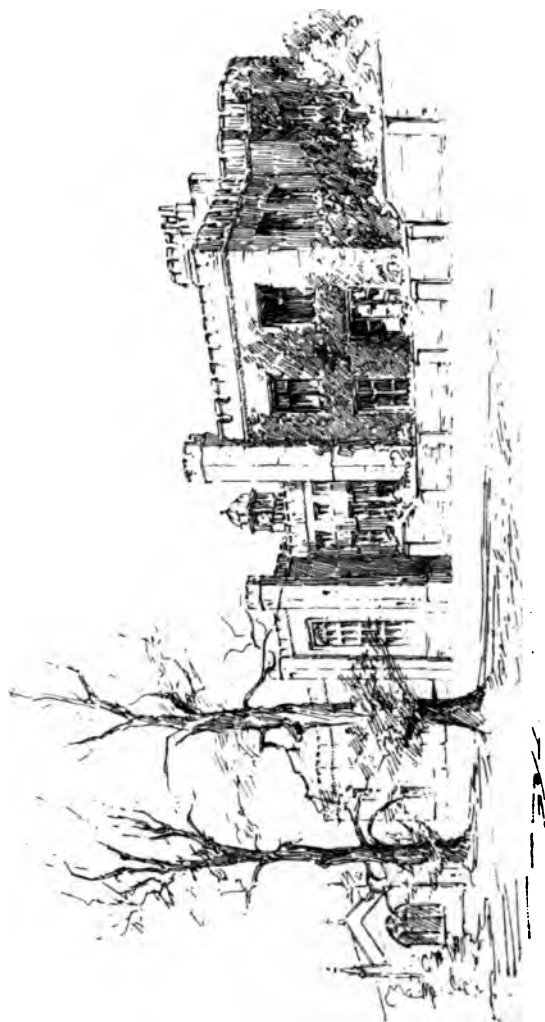
by his will forty-three acres of land on the Hillmorton Road, to be added to the school playing-fields. No other outward changes belong to the Head-mastership of Dr. Percival, and the system of school work went on much the same as before. The chronicle must accordingly pass on to its last entry, the appointment of Dr. James¹ in 1895. Since Dr. James's appointment a further enlargement of the chapel has been begun, and is now nearly finished. This has been done in memory of the Rev. P. Bowden Smith, who was for forty-three years a master at Rugby School.

There would be no interest in chronicling the mere university successes of these forty years. Suffice it to say, there is no falling off in number or quality. If there are not so many in this period who have attained a lasting fame, the reason is that the time has been too short. The giants of previous generations still live and flourish, and long may it be so: when the time shall come for them to hang up their arms in the temple, other Rugbeians will be ready to take their places. However, in public life Rugby has a permanent Under-Secretary of State for India in Sir Arthur Godley,² K.C.B.; and one of his schoolfellows, W. Lee Warner,³ has filled several posts of importance under the Indian Government; while

¹ Son of David James, of Kirkdale, Lancashire. Jesus College, Oxford: matriculated May 27, 1863, age 18; Scholar of Lincoln, 1864-67; B.A., 1867; Fellow of St. John's, 1869; M.A., 1870; B.D., 1874; Lecturer and Dean of Arts, 1871; Dean of St. Asaph, 1886; Principal of Cheltenham College, 1889-95; D.D., 1895.—*Alumni Oxonienses*.

² Entered 1862.

³ Entered 1859.



SCHOOLHOUSE, SCHOOLS AND OLD CHAPEL.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

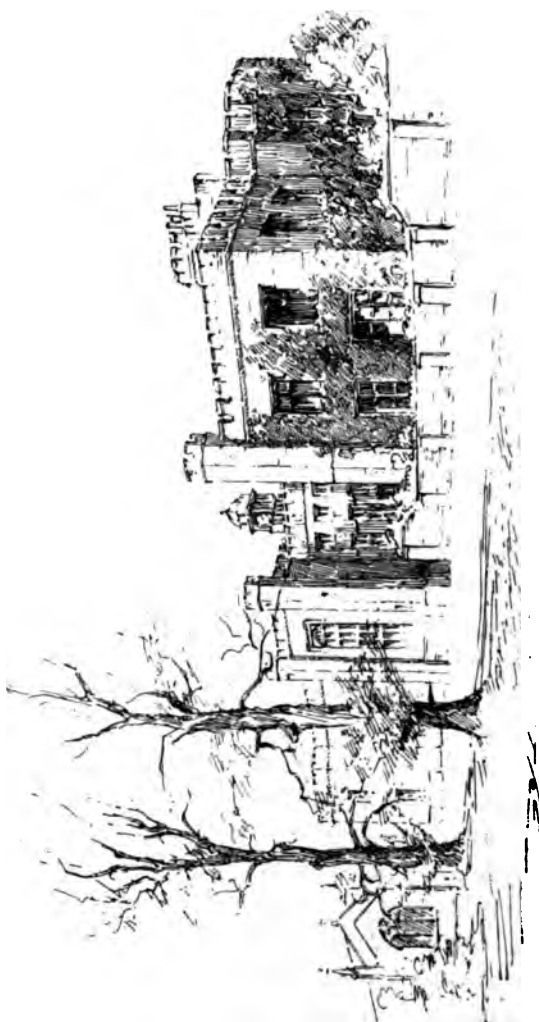
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SCHOOLHOUSE, SCHOOLS AND OLD CHAPEL.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

Sir Robert Phayre¹ is well known in British India. Mr. W. Mansfield² was Under-Secretary for War in Mr. Gladstone's Parliament of 1886, and the Right Hon. A. H. Dyke Acland is one of thirty or more Rugbeians in the present House of Commons. It is interesting to see the name of Goschen recurring in the later records of Rugby, and the sons following in their father's footsteps. Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster,³ a grandson of the great Head-Master, has deserved well of his country for his efforts on behalf of army and navy. Lastly may be mentioned another who bears an honoured name, Austen Chamberlain.⁴ Besides these, Rugbeians are to be found in all branches of the diplomatic service, in the Indian Civil Service, the Public Works Department, and the Government offices. Several of the younger generation have been travellers. It is not necessary to do more than mention that mighty Nimrod, F. C. Selous,⁵ whose explorations and huntings began in his school-days. Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake⁶ had explored the desert of El Tih, and had done good work in the survey of western Palestine, before he died in 1870, not twenty-five years old. Quite a company of old Rugbeians took part in the solar expedition sent to Sicily by the Government in 1870; and recently Mr. P. M. Sykes⁷ has been doing excellent work, in a quite unobtrusive manner, on the Beloochee frontier and in Persia. Painting and architecture have also claimed their votaries, and the stage

¹ Entered 1865.

⁴ Entered 1878.

² Entered 1869.

⁵ Entered 1866.

⁷ Entered 1882.

³ Entered 1869.

⁶ Entered 1859.

owes Rugby her W. F. Hawtrey. In the department of letters not only has Rugby a voice speaking through the *Times*, but she helps to take care of the national collections of manuscripts, the records, and the wills in Somerset House. Professor Napier¹ teaches English to young Oxford, and has besides a European reputation; Professor York Powell² is known as a historian and Norse scholar; Mr. H. G. Hart³ has long presided over the welfare of Sedbergh School. It remains to mention one strange and original genius, the late Charles Howard Hinton,⁴ whose books contain so much that is illuminating, and so much that seems unintelligible. Some Rugbeians have written about their country's laws, and others have done their best to administer them; scores of parishes have taken a Rugbeian for incumbent, and the see of Chester has gained a Rugbeian bishop.⁵ As for the services, Rugbeians have been found everywhere—from Afghanistan to Zululand, from Lord Roberts's march upon Kandahar to Sir Herbert Kitchener's attack on Atbara. If there are no names which call for special mention, this is because they are all so good that none can fairly be singled out. For the rest, the last forty years have not given the soldier or sailor a fair chance; and it is safe to prophesy, that when England has to face the enemies who seem to be bent upon her destruction, Rugbeians will not fall short of the standard which their forerunners have set.

¹ Entered 1867.

² Entered 1864.

³ Entered 1858.

⁴ Entered 1869. Author of *Scientific Romances*, *The Fourth Dimension*, &c.

⁵ F. J. Jayne, entered 1859.

XV

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

IN this chapter we have to trace the history of those school institutions which the boys have themselves established. These show most truly whether a school is alive or no, and how far the system of instruction has succeeded in its main object of training boys to think, learn, and act for themselves. The development of schools is often one-sided. Some deify the athlete, or make a Moloch of their games; others foster the bookish theoretic, and lose sight of bodily health and training. The public schools do not generally err in the latter direction, and Rugby is fortunate in not leaning so much as some schools to the former.

“Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man,” said one who knew well what he was speaking of. Bacon would have been pleased to find all these three things cultivated in Rugby School. In the Temple Reading-Room and Library, and in the Arnold Library, he would have found excellent collections of books, both ancient and modern. Here we find not only all the standard books of reference dealing with classical subjects, and the best editions of classical authors,



SCHOOLHOUSE.

(From an etching by E. J. Burrow.)

To face page 312.



SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 313

but the masterpieces of modern literature. *Footsteps to Mrs. Trimmer* appear no longer, and the *History of Little Jack*, so "full of goodness," has fallen into oblivion; but there is plenteous store of books to be tasted, books to be swallowed, and most of those few which are worthy to be chewed and digested. Would any man become wise? here are histories to make him so. Would any become witty? poets are here. He that would be subtle has the mathematics; he that would be deep, natural philosophy; he that would make him able to contend, may read logic and rhetoric, and the great orators of his own country. The daily papers give him news of all that is happening in the world; the literary journals help to form his taste; even milk for babes is here in the illustrated magazines.

When the would-be orator has chewed and digested what he will, the Debating Society¹ is ready with its conference to sharpen a present wit. Since its foundation the constitution of the Society has undergone a few changes, but of no great moment. The meetings are now held on each alternate Saturday evening during the two winter terms. They used to take place sometimes in the afternoon, and on other days than Saturday, but in process of time the present arrangement survived as being the fittest. It is now usual for a master to be President, although at first the whole thing was managed by members of the School. A prize was formerly given to the

¹ I acknowledge indebtedness to the *Records of the Debating Society*. Full reports are given in the earlier volumes; subjects and names later. See also an article on the "Debating Society" in the *New Rugbeian*, iii. 147.

best speaker of the term, or for an essay on some subject chosen, by the officers of the Society. A small subscription has always been customary, supplemented by a poll-tax when need arose. Fines were, and still may be, inflicted for refusing to submit to the chairman's ruling, or for any disturbance made, and also for continued absence from the meetings. The officers were at first a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and pro-Secretary, and a Gentleman Usher.¹ At present there is only one Vice-President, and one Secretary, who also acts as Treasurer. Elections formerly held good for a month only, but since 1870 for the term. The President takes the chair; the Secretary calls out members' names when a vote is asked; the Usher makes all practical arrangements for the meeting, and turns out refractory members. Only the Upper School is eligible for membership. All applicants for admission must be proposed and seconded by members of the Society, and voted on by ballot: a certain proportion of black balls exclude, varying at different periods from one in five to one in three, the present rule. Masters are honorary members, but do not vote; old Rugbeians are also honorary members, but formerly they might have to submit to a ballot. Visitors may be admitted, but neither do they vote. Soon after the foundation of the society a practice grew up of arranging the subjects for the half year at its commencement, and then printing them for members. There is the usual monotony about many of these subjects. The virtues or iniquities of her Majesty's

¹ This term first appears in 1869.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 315

Government, capital punishment, limited monarchy *v.* republicanism, have a perennial interest; and at intervals which a statistician would find instructive, the Ghost reappears, and King Charles's head comes into the memorial. But the residue shows a wide interest in history and in literature, as we should expect when the speakers are such as Bowen, Waddington, and T. H. Green. On the whole, the Society, like most school societies, has been strongly conservative; yet any motion appealing to generosity or pity, even though radical, is sure to be popular. One or two practical rules are worth mentioning. It is always a difficulty to find subjects for debate; hence the officers of the Society are obliged to provide them if no one else does. It is sometimes difficult to find speakers; accordingly the proposer has to find some one to oppose him. The proposer was formerly elected at each meeting for the next, and called the Minister: he had to provide a ministry and an opposition. Meetings sometimes fall flat, and "Herr Major bezahlt seine Schulden"; to prevent which, no meeting can be announced unless six members have promised to speak. If any member promises, and yet is dumb, he is fined half-a-crown. Much interest is taken in the debates, which are often thronged. On one occasion came thirty-nine visitors not belonging to the School; but it so happened that on that night there were not the necessary two-thirds of the members present, and a count-out followed. Occasionally half the Middle School will put in an appearance, attracted by some sensational subject or favourite orator; as when the

fags came in a body to hear a debate about their own abolition. The place of debate was formerly the Sixth School, now usually the schoolroom of the Lower Bench ; but when a great concourse is expected, Old Big School or even New Big School is used now and then.

Such as wish to become exact men may try to get elected into that select club called Eranos. This consists of twelve members, who fill up vacancies by co-opting, and meet regularly to read papers, chiefly on literary subjects. Only members of the Sixth are eligible for Eranos. The Lower Bench has an Eranos of its own, not for writing, but for reading poets : here all of the proper status are welcome, and numbers are not limited. Or again, there are the school magazines. Besides the *Meteor* (1867-98), which makes no pretension to be more than a chronicle, there have been founded successively, and successively have died, the *New Rugby Magazine* (1864-65), the *T. V. W.* (1877-78), and the *Leaflet* (1883-86), and the *Sibyl* (1890-95). The latest born of this brood of the Muses is the *Laurentian*, which began in 1898. Several of these are illustrated from drawings made by members of the School.

Thus refined by the society of Clio and Euterpe, one would imagine that young Rugby must pay some devotion to the sister Muses. Alas ! it is not so. Urania, it is true, has her shrine in the Temple Observatory, where a careful curator attends at stated times to show the stars through a telescope. Time was when Thalia at least, if not Melpomene, had her votaries ; but now they

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 317



CHAPREL WEST NOW PULLED DOWN.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

receive but a scanty snuff of incense on Speech Day, which tends ever to become less and less. In Olympus they mourn over the golden age of Macready, and the silver

age of the Schoolhouse Dramatic Society; in this age of iron, Rugby cares for none of these things. As for Terpsichore, she seems to have retired into obscurity with the demolition of Dr. James's dancing-school nigh a century since. "These things are but Toys," writes Bacon, yet "acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme good grace."

Music, however, is by no means neglected. Not only have we the house-singing, where the songs are certainly "loud," as our authority recommends, "not chirpings and pulings;" but there is an orchestra of no mean repute, and a brass band. Moreover, quite a surprising number in the School learn to play on some musical instrument. Wind is generally a weak point in school orchestras; but Rugby has clarionets and oboes, horns and trumpets—ay, and a loud bassoon which makes many a listener beat his breast. Pepys would have been truly delighted with the woodwind. Rugby indeed is melodious with all manner of music; and if lute or viol hung in the barber's shop, as they used to do in the days of good Queen Bess, hardly a lad but could turn his hand to it.

Those who are interested in art or antiquities have an excellent School Museum whither they may resort. Here are to be seen original drawings of Michael Angelo, and others of the old masters; of Turner, Lord Leighton, and some of the newer; copies of famous paintings, and a splendid collection of photographs, which are constantly being changed. It would be impossible, without exceed-

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 319

ing my space, to give any idea of this collection of photographs, which includes the masterpieces of painting and sculpture both ancient and modern, English and foreign domestic architecture, Watts's portraits, and a host of other things. There are casts in plaster of a number of Greek and Roman statues, of some mediæval busts, and of the Gates of Ghiberti at Florence. There is also one real antique, a torso of Greek workmanship. Several cases contain Greek fictile vases, Greek and Roman glass, and Greek armour. Two bronze helmets deserve special mention: one unique, being shaped like a leather helmet with bosses, and one that was picked up in Asia Minor on the track of the Ten Thousand. Egyptian remains, methods of handicraft, ancient manuscripts, and early printed books add to the interest of the collection. Some local antiquities are old guns and pistols, and old buff jerkins, one of which was picked up on Naseby field, and shows by a sword-thrust through the back that its first owner ran away. On the staircase are casts of slabs from the Parthenon frieze, and the British Museum series of electrotpe coins. Each year in the summer term there is a loan exhibition of paintings, collected at great cost and trouble, which cannot fail to do much in training the taste of the School.

Perhaps the neglect of some of the Muses is explained by the vigour of the Natural History Society. We have good authority for believing that two bodies cannot occupy the same space, and in the affections of Rugby the space once filled by the drama is now filled by the Natural His-

tory Society. The Society was founded in 1867, and has preserved Records continuously since that date. The first President was Mr. F. E. Kitchener, then a master, and one of its early members was F. C. Selous. A very liberal interpretation is put on the name. Not only are there sections which scour the woods and spinneys in search of flowers, plants, and butterflies; not only does another part delve into the earth for her secrets; but there are who study with a noble zest the architecture and history of all the ancient buildings within reach of a bicycle or of an afternoon's journey by rail; and others, again, make photography a fine art. In the bowels of the earth is a dark room, where washing and fixing goes on continually. Papers are read, lectures are delivered, lantern-slides are made and exhibited to an admiring world: in short, there is hardly a thing which this ubiquitous Society attempts not, nor attempting, performs. A just proportion is observed in the numerous expeditions; the drier the study, the more luxurious is the tea, and everybody comes home radiant. Each year the Society publishes a Report, which gives an account of all its doings during the twelve months. There is a Vivarium belonging to the School, which contains both plants and animals; most famous of which is the old Cockatoo. The Society has also its Museum, with the inevitable Egyptian mummy, and a good library of natural history books.

But the school life is not all reading, writing, and conference, nor all natural history expeditions. No account of a public school would be complete without

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 321

the games; and although it is no purpose of mine to write a full history of them (which would in itself require a book), a sketch will be attempted in order to complete the picture.

First comes football, because that is in all parts of the English-speaking world associated with the name of Rugby.¹ We have already seen the beginnings of football at Rugby, and how the distinctive feature of the Rugby game seems to have originated in the chance impulse of one boy. By degrees we have seen the practice of running with the ball become tolerated, and at last come into general use. In 1846 it was still not legal to pick up the ball from the ground, but it was legal to run in with the ball if it had been caught from the foot or on the bounce. When precisely the present rule for picking up the ball was first introduced is not known. A run in is regarded as a natural thing in the forties,² but in 1853 it was distinctly stated that to pick up a rolling ball was illegal. This rule, however, was constantly broken, so that the old Rugbeians expressed their annoyance at it.³ But the change came notwithstanding. Games played between a limited number of picked players, fifteen or twenty on a side, are said to have been first played about 1840.⁴ For a long time the only games played at Rugby were school games; but on Saturday, November 16, 1867,⁵

¹ See the pamphlet, *Origin of Rugby Football*, quoted before; and Marshall's *Football: the Rugby Union Game* (Cassell, 1892).

² *Big Side Levée, Records*, 1849.

³ *Big Side Levée*, Dec. 8, 1857.

⁴ *Origin*, p. 18.

⁵ *Origin*, p. 35.

was played the first foreign match, between the School and a scratch team, twenty on each side. During the third quarter of this century most of the games were still school games, and many fanciful methods were taken to bring the players into all sorts of combinations. Besides the usual Big Side games, we find Dissyllables *v.* School, Patriarchs *v.* School, Anomalies *v.* School, A to K *v.* School, North *v.* South, and so on. Of the numbers on each side in these matches we have no hint; but in 1875¹ it was resolved at a Big Side Levée "that the School Football Team be fifteen instead of twenty." Three or four years later a Levée of Caps decided that house matches should be played with fifteen a side, and one house match was actually so played. But Big Side Levée reversed the decision, and house matches continued to be played with twenties until 1881. About a year after this the rule was finally altered, and fifteens became the rule. Lastly, in 1881, the year after the Rugby Union was founded, Union Rules were substituted for School Rules in the fifteen game.² The ball itself was originally of no fixed shape or size; and it began to assume the familiar oblong about 1851.

At present these rules are observed in 'all games except three in the year, which keep up the old tradition. These are the Sixth Match, when the Sixth present and past play the remainder of the Caps and any old Rugbeians who were not in the Sixth; the Cock Houses, where fifteens of the Cock House and the next house

¹ Schoolhouse *Pasti*.

² Schoolhouse *Pasti*.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 323

below play the rest of the Caps, old Rugbeians joining in as before on each side; and the Old Rugbeian Match, played by the School Caps against the old Rugbeians. In these three games you may still see football played with seventy or eighty on a side. These three matches, together with all foreign matches, bear the time-honoured title of Big Side.

The football, with the rest of the games, is now managed by a Games Committee,¹ consisting of masters and boys. There is room on the playing-grounds for seventeen games to be played at once. The costume in former years was white duck trousers. Flannels were adopted in 1876, and knickerbockers in 1888, as the regular uniform.² At present the costume is strictly regulated as follows. The "distinctions" are: (1) flannels, with the right to wear the house crest on the straw hat; (2) cap, with a house crest on the hat, football breeches, and the house crest on the jersey; (3) the Fifteen colours, blue breeches, and school crest on a white jersey. Those who have no distinction play for their houses as Belows or Two Belows. Distinctions in football, as in other games, are resigned at the beginning of each term, save only the captain's. The captain then assigns such distinctions as are earned by play in some game. Even the minor distinctions are given only by his authority, although in the case of house caps he usually follows the recommendation of the house captain.

¹ The first mention of a Games Committee is in 1853 (*Big Side Levée Records*).

² *Big Side Levée Records*.

In the early days of the Rugby game the Richmond Club¹ used to take a prominent place. When first formed, this club contained a large number of old Rugbeians, and in two or three years among the sixties, when the team contained twelve or thirteen old Rugbeians, it sustained no defeat. The game as then played must have presented an odd spectacle, with spectators crowding over the touch-line, and the wary half-back dodging in and out among them to the discomfiture of his foes. C. S. Dakyns was a well-known figure in these games, and another was the energetic secretary of the Old Rugbeian Society, Morris Davies.² Another name that won renown was that of D. P. Turner,³ who played in the scrummage. When the papers began to take notice of the game, they were horribly shocked at the hacking that went on, and a crusade was begun against it. This is hardly to be wondered at if the story be true that in a Cock House Match at Rugby the forwards of the losing twenty were so severely punished that their house master "actually sat down on the grass and wept like a child." We should not make too much of this incident, however, for the gentleman in question evidently had the gift of tears, and used to weep over a Greek play in form.⁴ But the public, always so tender-hearted, was aroused to a bitter denunciation of football and all its works. There was nothing for it but to abolish hacking, and this was accordingly done by the Rugby Union, at the instance,

¹ Marshall, *Football*, p. 70.

² Entered 1859.

³ Entered 1857.

⁴ Marshall, p. 77.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 325



OLD QUADRANGLE:

CLOISTERS, STUDIES, OLD BIG SCHOOL, CHAPEL TOWER.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

it is said, of Charles Darwin the younger. In the School, hacking over was not abolished till the third term of 1876; hacking on the ball was still allowed, and only

died out along with the twenty game. Notable players behind the scrummage were W. H. Sykes¹ and H. T. S. Yates.² Amongst the best forwards of the same period are mentioned W. C. Sherrard,³ the Instructor in Fortifications at Woolwich; F. Stokes,⁴ of Blackheath Club; and E. C. Holmes,⁵ of Richmond. When the Rugby Union was formed in 1871, three old Rugbeians—A. Rutter, E. C. Holmes, and L. J. Morton—drew up rules for it, which were accepted by the committee as they stood.⁶ These were based on the Rugby School rules, but abolished hacking, modified and amplified the rules for off-side, punting-out was done away with, and the method of bringing out the ball for a try at goal was made more simple. All through the early years of the Union, Rugby men are found in prominent places, as President, Secretary, or what not. Since that time the proportion of Rugbeians has not been so great as formerly. This fact is not, as it might be deemed, a proof of inferiority: it merely shows that Rugby has succeeded in her mission. North, south, and west have been converted to the rules which originated from Rugby, and the choice of men is now far larger than it was at the beginning.

Of cricket there is less to say, because this came from outside, instead of being developed from within. Cricket at Rugby School is now organised as follows. Any new boy under sixteen who shows promise is put

¹ Entered 1863.

² Entered 1860.

³ Entered 1863.

⁴ Entered 1864.

⁵ Entered 1866.

⁶ Marshall, p. 81.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 327

in the Young Guard, which has its own special "ends" and professional.¹ Here the Young Guard practise until they are promoted to the Intermediate Ends or to New Big Side. In this place they get occasional coaching from the other professionals or the masters, as they are close to the nets of the Eleven and the Twenty-two. Each house has also nets of its own, so that there is ample opportunity for learning the game. By a wise rule of the School, boys are allowed in the cricket season to come into afternoon school dressed in flannels and blazer. They are thus able to play at odd times with far greater ease and comfort. Cricket distinctions are: (1) tie; (2) the Twenty-two cap of dark blue, with ribbon for the straw hat; (3) School Eleven light-blue cap and shirt, with ribbon—a very pretty uniform. Distinctions are allotted by the school captain, in the same way as in football. The houses now draw for games, except Belows,² which play on the League system. The first event of the year is a two-days' match at Lord's against Marlborough, which takes place at the end of the summer term. The costume for cricket, as for all games, used to be white duck trousers, but the many played in their ordinary clothes. The Eleven wore flannels as early as 1846; and in 1877 the Eleven, the Twenty-two, Belows, and Two Belows were allowed to wear them.

It would be impossible, without taking up too much

¹ The first record of a professional is the appointment of John Lillywhite as bowler, 1850 (*Big Side Levée Records*).

² Those who are "below" the Caps. The Belows and Two Belows answer to Second and Third Elevens in other schools.

space, to mention all the first-rate cricketers who have come forth from Rugby during the last forty years. B. B. Cooper,¹ whose fame as a batsman almost rivalled that of Grace, was for long one of the Gentlemen of England. F. Case,² whose name is traditionally associated at Rugby with the goal called Case's Gallows, found leisure from his literary studies to play three years in the Oxford Eleven. E. Bowden Smith,³ one of a family of athletes, played for the Oxford Eleven and the Gentlemen. E. M. Kenney⁴ and A. A. Bourne⁵ earned fame as bowlers, each gaining his blue, the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge. W. Yardley,⁶ of Trinity College, Cambridge, is the only man who has made a score of two centuries in the University Match. C. K. Francis⁷ took ten wickets in one innings at the Marlborough Match of 1867, and afterwards played for Oxford. To come down to modern times, it would be hard to find a better cricketer than C. H. F. Leslie,⁸ captain of the Oxford Eleven, and one of the Gentlemen. We can do no more than mention the name of Bradby, known of yore on the Oxford playing-fields, and still at the old School; and of Wilson, distinguished in more than one generation of school and university cricketers. But Rugby cricketers have carried their torch to the uttermost parts of the earth. H. H. Castens,⁹ for instance, became captain of the South African team, and for T. W. Wills¹⁰ was reserved a lot still more

¹ Entered 1859.² Entered 1858.³ Entered 1867.⁴ Entered 1854.⁵ Entered 1865.⁶ Entered 1863.⁷ Entered 1865.⁸ Entered 1875.⁹ Entered 1878.¹⁰ Entered 1851.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 329

remarkable. A good wind wafted him to the antipodes, where he so civilised the natives, that in 1868 he brought home an eleven of jet-black aborigines to play in England. Some of them rejoiced in the following euphonious names : Mullagh, Peter, Tiger, Red-Cap, Bullocky, Twopenny, Jim Crow, and Dick-a-Dick. Nor was it at all an eleven *pour rire* ; they played uncommonly well, and Mullagh at least is said (I know not with what truth) to have been equal to playing for his county, if he had had a county to play for.

In other branches of athletics mention ought to be made of J. C. Gardner,¹ the well-known oarsman and sculler ; and of M. J. Brooks,² who in the University Sports cleared a high jump of 6 ft. 1½ in. for Oxford. Others have rowed in the University Eight ; as H. Watney³ and W. J. Pinckney,⁴ both for Cambridge.

Rugby possesses an excellent Volunteer Corps, forming F Company in the 2nd Volunteer Battalion, Royal Warwickshire Regiment. I have already spoken of the first Rugby Volunteers, who were enrolled when the descent of Bonaparte was expected upon the shores of England. With the destruction of the French fleets the fear of invasion ceased, and the Volunteers with it ; and the present corps was not founded until England was agitated a second time by the unfriendly menaces of France. Its beginning dates from 1860, when four companies of Rifles were enrolled, with eight officers, all being boys in the

¹ Entered 1879.

³ Entered 1858.

² Entered 1869.

⁴ Entered 1860.

School. Their uniform is depicted in the first pages of the Record Books. It is of a sober colour, trousers, tunic, and belt, with a tall sloping cap of the familiar "rifleman" type. They no longer use wooden swords in tin sheaths, but carry "musket" and bayonet. The organisation was soon after changed to two companies with six officers, and so it remained for some time. Regular drills were instituted, at first every day, and there were frequent marches out. In 1861, the first year of the Public Schools Competitions at Wimbledon, the shooting team won the Challenge Shield, and for many years (the year 1867 alone excepted) they were in the first three for that event. The Shield was again won in 1894; and on various occasions other prizes were carried off—the Spencer Cup twice, the Cadets' Trophy, and the Veterans' Trophy. In 1889, when the Spencer Cup was first won, Captain G. Richardson, the winner, won also the Persian Gold Medal, given yearly by one of the Ministers of the Shah. In 1868 masters first appear as officers, and it has been ever since the rule that some of the officers at least should be masters. A. P. Humphrey¹ won the Queen's Prize at Wimbledon in 1871. The corps at present numbers about 260 of all ranks; as there are 574 in the School, this means that nearly half the School are enrolled in it. It includes a captain, two lieutenants, and three cadet officers. About once in three weeks there is a march out; and field-days are often arranged in conjunction with other schools, not to mention

¹ Entered 1863.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 331

the Public Schools Review at Aldershot. On these occasions—

Nodding their heads, before them goes
The merry minstrelsy,

in the shape of a powerful brass band. It should be noted that the members from each boarding-house form a section or sub-section, so that sections are complete permanent units. Hence much responsibility in dealing with the rank and file lies with the non-commissioned officers. Promotions from private to lance-corporal are made on the recommendation of the house sergeant. The School has its own rifle range, with canvas targets working on the newest principles, and telephonic communication between the markers and the firing points. There is continual practice, both at these and with the Morris tube. Twice in the year competitions are held among the various house sections, the successful squads holding challenge shields or other trophies. These are— (1) in manual and firing exercise, motions of the rifle on the march, and bayonet exercise; (2) for the best dressed squad; (3) for general efficiency, including attendance at drill, and a tactical exercise carried out by squads of twelve, with a non-commissioned officer in command.

We have seen that the first school fire-engine was bought in 1780, and in 1822¹ another was bought in its place. At that time Rugby town had no fire-engine,

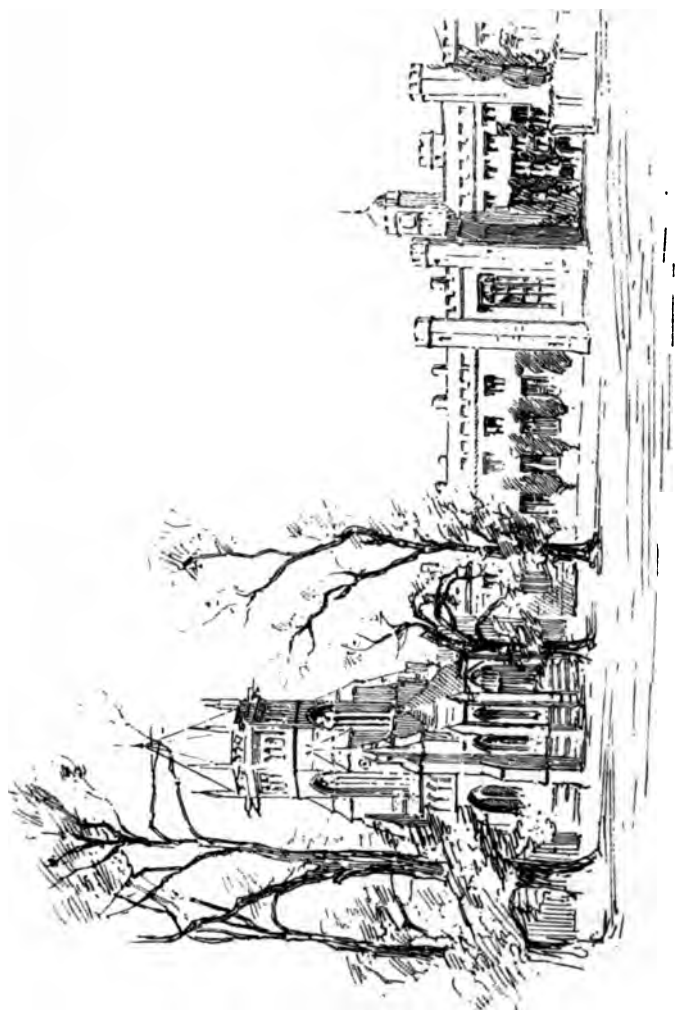
¹ Order of July 9, 1822.

and there is little doubt that the school engine was not only meant for use, but in the early part of this century was actually used. Many small fires have occurred since then, as we learn from passing allusions. Others, more or less serious, have occurred¹ in 1860, when Smythies' house suffered; in 1865, at Mr. Blake's; in 1885, at the Schoolhouse: in 1886, when twelve studies were destroyed at Mr. Whitelaw's; and at the Schoolhouse, in 1895. On these latter occasions outside help was obtained when necessary; but there has been a regular Fire Brigade in the School since 1892, possessing an engine and a fire-escape. So far the efforts of this new Brigade have been confined to practice. Sleepers have been suddenly shot down from their happy couches through the fire-escape; and a nightly visitor to the school buildings may sometimes be alarmed by seeing the members climb in at the upper windows to pour imaginary water upon a fictitious flame.

There are two School Missions. The earlier, founded in memory of Henry Watson Fox, has already been mentioned. The second takes the appropriate form of boys' clubs in Notting Hill, London, and in Birmingham. The clubs are open to boys of twelve years and upwards, and provide amusement or educational classes for them in the evenings. Occasionally a party of these boys is brought down to Rugby to visit the School, and they are there entertained and amused by residents.

Of the athletic sports not much need be said. In

¹ Schoolhouse *Festi.*



SCHOOLHOUSE, SCHOOLS, AND NEW CHAPEL FROM CLOSE.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

1853 the Games being "considered a national interest," a Games Committee was appointed, which drew up rules for athletic sports.¹ These had taken place previously, but there is no earlier record of them. The events were: flat races of 200 yards, hurdle races of the same length, a quarter-mile hurdle race, a mile and a quarter-mile flat race, running wide jump, standing high jump, vaulting, throwing the cricket ball, hand-fives, place kick, and drop, swimming and diving. Expenses were met by a subscription of the whole School. The sports now take place yearly in the Lent term, and call for no special remark.

Mention has often been made of the Cock House.² This is a term of no great antiquity in the School. In early times, that is to say from 1790 or thereabouts (for we have no certain information about the matter before that date), it was a coveted distinction to be Cock of the House or Cock of the School. If any boy was acknowledged by all to be the best man all round, the title would be his. If there were more than one candidate, we do not know how the question was decided. Probably, however, the final appeal lay before the Court of Club-Law; in other words, the aspirants fought it out until one gave in. When football began to be organised, the Schoolhouse would, from its size, naturally be more than a match for any other house; hence arose the great contest of the School-

¹ *Big Side Levée Records.*

² See *Origin of R. F.*, pp. 41-44.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 335

house against the School, called the Schoolhouse Match. House matches were not played at that time, and when there seemed "no great disparity" between the Schoolhouse and the School, it would have been absurd for one of the other houses to challenge the Schoolhouse. Towards the end of the forties the scale began to turn. In 1850, for the first time in history, the Schoolhouse played against a single house, and they were beaten by Cotton's (now Payne Smith's), which claimed the title of Cock House. In 1851 Shairp's (now extinct) and Anstey's played the School.¹ In 1852 Shairp's beat the Schoolhouse, and for the three years following there was a fierce struggle between the two houses for the headship. Henceforward we find other houses winning the first place, and it is clear that there must have been some system of challenges, if not yet a general scheme of house matches, such as was formulated in 1867.² The Schoolhouse has been seventeen times Cock House since 1850, not counting draws; but the other houses have long been sufficiently large to make a good game out of the event.

The Big Side runs still hold their place in Rugby, and are run mostly after football is over in the Lent term. In all of them the course is now fixed, and the records of winner and time have been kept for the last sixty years or so. These records are set down in the Big Side Books, and these are held by the Holder of Big Side Bags, the two bags in which the scent is carried. Since the foundation

¹ *Big Side Levée Records.*

² *Big Side Levée Records.*

of the Running Eight (which is quite modern) the Holder has always been head of the Eight as a matter of course, and keeps office so long as he is in the School. When he leaves he hands on the Books and the Bags to a successor. The captains of the Eleven and the Fifteen keep similar books. Most of the runs combine a road-course with a course across fields, and there is, besides the runs proper, a good deal of "brook-jumping"; but in neither case is the strain on the rank and file anything like so heavy as in the old days of fencing and leaping across country.

The most famous of the Big Side runs is the Crick, which (like football) has had its *vates sacer*.¹ The other runs are:² Barby Hill (about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Barby village ($8\frac{1}{4}$), Bilton (nearly 5), Churchover ($6\frac{1}{4}$), Coton House ($5\frac{1}{8}$), Harborough Magna ($6\frac{1}{2}$), Hillmorton, Lawford ($5\frac{5}{8}$), Lilbourne and Catthorpe, Shawell ($7\frac{3}{8}$), Thurlaston ($6\frac{1}{4}$), Willoughby and Woolscote (about 8 miles). This, it will be seen, covers a good deal of country; and as there are runs in all weathers, it is an excellent thing for the health. The houses also organise Little Side runs on their own account, for practice. In 1881 a Running Cup was presented to the School, to be won by the house which scored the most points during the season. There was no limit to the number of boys a house might send in, but each house was obliged to send two for every run. A system of

¹ Above, p. 271; and *Recoll. of Rugby*, p. 135.

² For details as to course and records, see *Rugby School Big Side Runs* (Rugby: Lawrence, 1893).

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 337

scoring was devised in 1882 at a meeting of House Bags, by which the winner scored $60 + 1$, and one off for every ten seconds behind; the hares (who carry bags filled with paper for "scent") being allowed one minute. For the Crick all these figures were doubled. In 1883 each house was limited to eight representatives. But it was found that the system tended to put too great a strain upon the average boy, and so, after some further changes, the whole system was abolished in 1892 by the Games Committee. For a year or two the Running Cup went to the house of the winner of the Crick. Of late years the School has run against some foreign teams, as the Thames Hare and Hounds Club, and Oxford University Hare and Hounds Club. There is now a Running Eight, whose captain is *ex officio* Holder of Big Side Bags. Houses have also since 1881 their Running Eights, which run against each other. Rugby is fortunate in still keeping up this once popular sport, which in many schools seems to be dying or dead.

We now come to the constitution of the School Commonwealth. The Sixth Form (now no longer called *praeceptors*) are the great potentates of the School; and their place in it ensures that power shall be in the hands of those who are not only fitted by bodily strength for the mastery, but are, on the whole, an "aristocracy selected by merit." Occasionally one or another in some form below the Sixth is given "Sixth power," if he has proved himself worthy of it, or if there are not enough of the Sixth in any house. It sometimes happens, of course, that one or two are too weak in character for their position; but the whole

body loyally upholds the authority of all its members, and on the whole the system works well. The Sixth are responsible to the Head-master for the use of their powers, and an appeal lies to him, though it is very unlikely to be used except in case of gross tyranny. Their disciplinary powers include the right of caning and setting impositions. The caning is done in the houses, and the Schoolhouse uses the Fifth Form Room. The Sixth are expected to support law and order in the School by example and precept. A breach of school rules by one of them would be a serious offence, and would lead (if wilful or gross) to loss of Sixth power for a time, or to removal from the School. They read the lessons in chapel by rotation, carry round the bags for the offertory, and "walk," that is, keep order, at calling-over in Big School. In the houses they are responsible for the general discipline in studies and dormitories. In case of need a levée may be called, which may be a School Levée, a Big Side Levée of the Upper School (the Sixth, the Twenty, and the two Fifths), a Sixth Form Levée, or a House Levée. The chief rules for conduct of Big Side Levées are as follows:¹ (1) All members of the Upper School must attend; (2) the head of the School is chairman *ex officio*; (3) each member has one vote, and the chairman a casting vote; (4) no voting by proxy is allowed; (5) the chairman may refuse to hold a levée or to put a motion, but an appeal lies to the Sixth Form Levée or to the Head-master; (6) notice of motions

¹ Schoolhouse *Fasti*, 1885; earlier rules in *Levée Records*.





THE ISLAND AND OLD PAVILION AS THEY ARE TO-DAY.

(*from an etching by E. J. Burrows.*)

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 339

must be previously given to the chairman; (7) no exception to a standing rule can be passed without two-thirds majority of those present; (8) a fine of sixpence is inflicted for absence without reasonable excuse; (9) its resolutions can veto those of the School Levée, or Football Committee, or any committee appointed by itself.

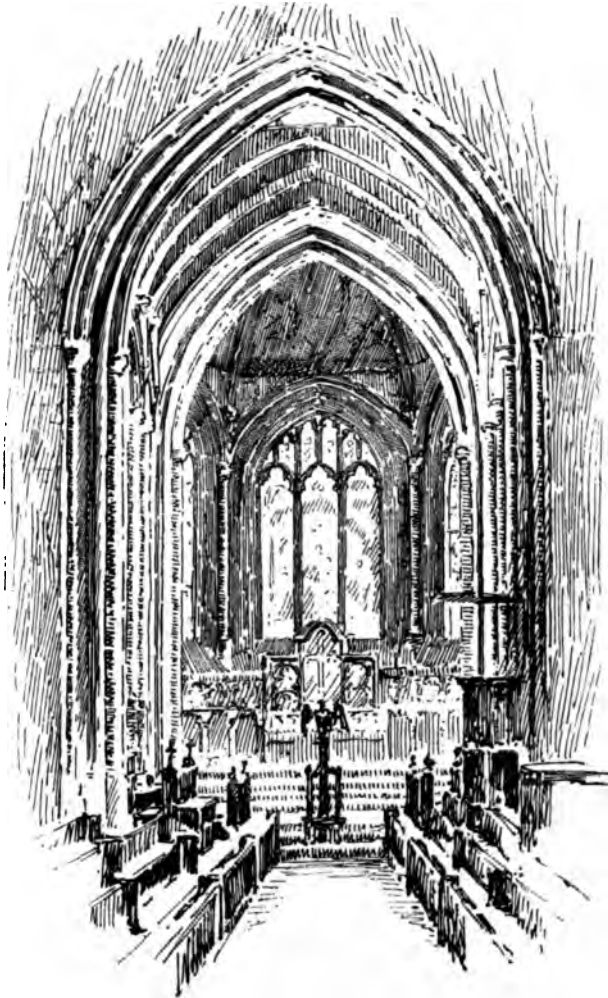
In 1844 stringent rules were laid down by the Sixth Form Levée, that all boys, the Sixth included, should remain in the Close during a match. The gates were kept by the six praeceptors of the week preceding, or their substitutes. The penal discretion allowed to the Sixth Form was at first very great, and as many as sixty cuts had been inflicted at a Sixth licking. The number was limited to twelve by Goulburn in 1854, and, in spite of several appeals, the restriction was confirmed by his successors. Besides punishments, they give rewards on occasion. In 1845, for example, "the freedom of the Fifth [*i.e.* immunity from all fagging] was presented to Berkeley, on account of his heroic conduct in saving the life of Sandford mi., at Swifts." A similar honour was done to Gregory in 1848, for saving the life of Cramer. Other subjects which occupy the attention of this Levée are the School Magazines, whose editors they appoint, and the Island. This, as we have seen, was, of old, privileged ground, upon which none but the Sixth had a right to go. The privilege appears to have been extended to the Twenty and the Fifth, and all these forms contributed what was necessary to keep it in proper condition. The Upper Middle had also to pay

towards the Island and the Bath,¹ yet had no right to enter; so in 1847 they sent in a petition for redress of grievances. The Upper Middles were accordingly given the option of paying or not as they chose, and each member of the Sixth was authorised to admit to the Island one extra person, being if possible a member of the Upper Middle. The petition as regards the Bath was rejected. It was also resolved, "that any fag found on the Island without proper leave, if he shirk off to the satisfaction of the praepostor, escape with impunity; if not, he incur the same punishment as is awarded to non-shirking out of bounds."

In 1852 it was proposed to throw open the Island to the fags, but the proposal was lost, "on the ground that it was the only external mark of respect now paid to the Sixth," shirking having been abolished. Even this solitary honour was to cease, for the Island soon ceased to be an Island. One other resolution of the Sixth Levée is interesting, as it shows an increasing sense of responsibility for good order in the School. In 1847 it was resolved, "that every member of the Sixth do consider himself bound in honour not to apply himself to school work after the lights have been put out by order of the master of the house."

This organisation has not only a recognised status, but its traditional formalities. The proceedings of the School Levées are carried on in an orderly fashion, and resemble in most respects a properly conducted public meeting.

¹ This was the old Bath, as to which see Index. Praepostors had keys.



CHAPEL INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

(Drawn by Miss H. M. James, from a photograph by Geo. A. Dean.)

They have their chairman, whose ruling is obeyed ; and motions are proposed, seconded, and voted upon in due form. The wording of them is quaint and dignified. The Big Side Levée, for instance, which is concerned chiefly with the school games, dates of matches, dates when football or other games shall commence, usually words its propositions in set phrases. "It was proposed that on such a date football should be brought into the Close," or that "punt-about be introduced into the Close." The care with which these records are kept, and the interest of many of the events recorded, will make them most valuable to the future historian of Rugby School.

Below the Sixth are two forms, the Twenty and the Fifth (two divisions), which are excused from fagging, but not themselves allowed to have fags. These form a kind of chrysalis stage between the Sixth Form and the fags. The duties of fags are less irksome than once they were, but (such as they are) strictly exacted. It raises a smile to read what some eminent educationalists have written of the fagging system,¹ as though it were a thing essentially bad, and only to be tolerated because it cannot be abolished. If it be essentially bad that the young should serve before they can rule, then the whole system of government in all organised countries, and in the army and navy, and in commerce, is essentially bad. Experience shows that the fagging system, if properly limited, is a good and useful institution, and an excellent training in habits of smartness and obedience. Fags may still, as of

¹ *e.g.* Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, p. 80.

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 343

yore, be called on to run errands, and to make themselves generally useful. Each fag is attached to some one of the Sixth for study fagging only, and is not liable to any other for this service. The house fags have to "fug out" the "den" of their superior, to light his fire, to make toast for him at tea, and so forth. Is any errand to be done, the Sixth Form potentate has but to issue forth from his den and shout "Fag!" Immediately, like the rats of Hamelin city, out rush all the fags of the first term; or if the word be twice shouted, all those of the first two terms, and so forth. The last fag in gets the job, so their speed may be imagined. It once happened that an astute tradesman's boy found this out, and when he brought his parcels used to shout for a fag; he thus saved himself the trouble of waiting.

Many of the old customs described in these pages have died out. There is no more shirking, and boys newly promoted are no longer clodded, or cobbled, or chaired. The most remarkable of those customs which still survive is the "lamb-singing." As observed in the Schoolhouse the rite is as follows. A fortnight after the beginning of each term the new boys are conducted to one of the small dormitories. The head of the house and the captain of the Fifteen sit on a bed, as a bench of judges; the other boys crowd inside the door or without. Then on another bed each new boy is made to stand up in turn, a fag on either side lighting his face with a "tolly" set in a tin candlestick. The lamb must now sing a song. If it pass muster, good; if not, the judges start "Rule Britannia,"

which is taken up by all present, and the unsuccessful songster formerly had to drink a concoction of tooth-powder, salt, mustard, and other ingredients, mixed with water; this ordeal is now abolished.

On the last night of every term the Schoolhouse observes a custom called "knuckling down." All those who enjoy football distinctions change into football garb, and the rest appear in ordinary clothes. The fags are then divided into Big Fry and Little Fry, and proceed to knuckle down all through the long "dorm" passage to let the "distinctions" go leap-frog over them. First there are Big Fry singles and Little Fry singles; then doubles, the two boys putting their heads together; then the process is repeated in threes and fours, even as far as sixes, the heads being kept always together.

At a quarter-past six in the morning (or in winter at a quarter to seven o'clock) the sleepers are awakened by a servant, and they are reminded that the day's duties have begun. With greater or less speed all huddle into their clothes, and, after swallowing a cup of tea or coffee, hasten down to their form rooms. Meanwhile the twelve minutes' bell has rung for three minutes, and, after an equal pause, has rung again for the same time, stopping three minutes before the hour strikes. The forms are called over, and all proceed into chapel, whose doors are shut on the stroke of seven. At a quarter-past the short service is over, and an hour's work follows in school. At 8.15 the work ceases, and the boys return to their houses for breakfast at 8.30; in the

SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 345

interval, strings of fags may be seen hurrying to Hobley's for "stodge," and returning with arms full of parcels for their Sixth Form masters. You will observe that all keep on the east side of the High Street; or, if cross they must, they cross to their destination at right angles, and so back again. As they go back to the house, each keeps on the side of the road where his own house stands. However muddy the road, no one but a "swell" is supposed to turn up his trousers at the bottom; though true it is that this rule is not always observed. If a boy is in his first term, he must keep his hands out of his pockets. If you see a boy with one hand in, he will perhaps be in the second term; after that both may be put in the pockets. If three boys are seen walking together, you may be sure that their united experience of school amounts to twelve terms at the least; and so on in like proportion. As the throng of boys goes past, the onlooker may amuse himself by calculating the length of Rugby existence by these rules. Breakfast over, "second lesson" begins, and here we note a peculiarity in the arrangement of work at Rugby. The whole school day is divided into five lessons, but only the first (7.15-8.15, or in winter 7.45-8.30) and the end of the fifth (5.30 or 6) are fixed. The other lessons are arranged between certain limits to suit the convenience of all concerned. The result is that at almost any hour of the day some boys are in school and some are out. The lesson in school varies from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half. Lower forms

do their preparation in the first part of the time, and then they at once come up and say the work; others prepare in their studies. The frequent intervals keep everybody fresh, and the system works well. The visitor, then, cannot follow a typical boy through the rest of the day, because hours differ with each form. We should not forget to mention the sacred institution of "Cuts." If, by reason of indisposition or other human infirmity, a master is not in sight at a quarter of an hour after the time fixed for a lesson, that lesson is supposed to be a "cut," and the boys may depart whither they will. If a cut should be given at first lesson, the boys usually visit each other's houses, which at other times they never do. At a quarter-past one (or in winter half-past) the morning's work, with its snatches of play, is over, and all assemble for dinner. The afternoon is passed in the same way, unless it be a half-holiday, when cricket or football, fives or racquets, bicycle excursions, a march out, or a natural history expedition is the order of the day. Tea is taken at 5.30 or 6, and from 7.45 to 9.15 (or 7.30 to 9) there is preparation of work for the next day. Prayers are next said, and by ten o'clock every boy ought to be fast asleep.

Such is the uneventful routine of the School, varied only by a debate, or a lecture, or a concert in New Big School. If Lawrence Sheriffe could arise from his grave, he might well be astonished at the complexity of the machine which has been developed out of his modest beginning, and the smoothness with which it works. The



SCHOOL LIFE IN MODERN TIMES 347

brains of many men have helped in the making of this; nor is it to be supposed that it will never change again. One good order may corrupt the world; and the School is like Arthur's Round Table, "an image of the mighty world," for which its citizens are training.

XVI

A LAST LOOK BACKWARD

As we look back over the past history of Rugby School, three names stand out from the rest into eminence—Henry Holyoake, Thomas James, and Thomas Arnold. These we may call, in a phrase which has become common of late years, the Makers of Rugby. Other men have taken their impress from Rugby, and have carried on more or less successfully what they found there; but these three were creative, and left a permanent mark on the School. Of the first it is tantalising to know that we know so little. He was clearly a strong man, a sound scholar, and a good organiser, and it was probably but the poverty of the school endowments which stood in the way of his raising Rugby to the first rank. As it was, he did raise Rugby to a position of high credit and repute, and received the highest marks of respect from the Board of Trustees. Thomas James has hitherto hardly had justice done him. He came to Rugby at a crisis in its fortunes, when the sudden increase in the value of the endowments gave almost unlimited scope to an able man; and he showed himself fully equal to the occasion. He intro-

duced a new and carefully devised course of studies, in no way behind the best scholarship of the day, and in some respects an advance on that of other schools. He drew up wise rules for the division of time and for the internal government of the School, which in the main are still observed. He showed himself capable of dealing with boys in a spirit of firmness and justice, yet not without a great deal more personal friendship and kindness than was usual in his time. A generation later, Thomas Arnold quickened this perfected organism with a new life, and to a large extent realised his "ideal of Christian education." His spirit fired a band of fellow-workers and pupils, who in their turn went forth into many other schools, carrying with them what they had learnt at Rugby. It is not suggested that the improvement in the tone of English public schools was wholly due to Arnold. Other influences were already working in the same direction; but Arnold was the first to put floating ideas into practice, and his example both helped and encouraged those who came after him. Here it is that Rugby comes into contact with the educational life of England. The grain of mustard-seed has grown into one of the greatest of trees, which has scattered its seeds far and wide over the face of the earth.

Yet it is only in a limited sense that even these men, or any men, can be said to be makers of a school. There are forces in the school independent of them, which they would have been powerless to create as to destroy. To

direct, to restrain, to urge onward these forces—so much is possible ; but no more. It is these forces which find vent in the customs and institutions of a school, which give it a character of its own, and make it appear almost as a being endowed with the breath of life. The same characteristics which English men show in life are seen here in English boys ; but because they work from within outwards, the forms they take on them are not the same as are seen elsewhere. Vigour of body and mind, a desire to excel, a love of fair play and order, public spirit, show themselves here as elsewhere, but run on lines of their own. So long as these remain, the school lives ; more actively, perhaps, at one time than another, and unable ever to dispense with a guiding hand, but moving of its own life, and not like a piece of clockwork. When these depart, then comes death ; and a body of tame and spiritless boys, could such be found in England, not even an Arnold could galvanise into a semblance of life. To these internal forces the reader's attention has been directed in this book, so far as it was possible to trace them. In the earlier portion of the history little is known of them, and that chiefly by inference from the after careers of Rugbeians. They were there, however, ready to show themselves at a call, whenever the man came who knew the magical word. When the barrier of poverty was removed, it took but one generation for Rugby to grow from a small and obscure school to be one of the chief schools in England.



APPENDIX

AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF RUGBY
SCHOOL AND OTHER DOCUMENTS CON-
NECTED THEREWITH



I

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LAURENCE SHERIFFE

1. The Will, Codicil, and Intent.
2. Extracts from the Records of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, and of Lincoln's Inn.
3. Particulars of Grants [Brownsover, &c.].

I.—THE WILL OF LAURENCE SHERIFFE.

[From the Official Copy at Somerset House, Sloane, fol. 27.]

"In the name of God Amen The tow and twentie Daie of Julie Anno Dni one thousand fyve hundred Three score and Seaven I Laurence Shirriff Citizen and grocer of London beinge sicke of Bodie but of good and perfitt remembrance thanked bee god therefore do make and ordeyne this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following That is to saye fyrst and principally I commende my soule into the handes of Jhesus Christe my onlie saviour and Redemer by the merytes of whose bytter deathe and precious blud sheddingge I have sure hope and stedfastile beleve to be savid and my bodye to the yerthe wherof itt was fyrst formed the whiche I will shalbe decently buried within the parishe church of St Androwes in Rugby but the funeralls to bee fyrst done in the Citle of London whereat I will have a lerned man to preach the word of god and all other thinges mete to be donne and after that my body to be caried decently to Rugby and ther buried nere the bodies of my father and mother and that therbe after a fayre stone layed vpon my grave with a title theron declaringe the daie of my decease and so forth as my Executors and Overseers shall thinke good Item I give and bequethe to the parishe church of St Androwes in the said Toune of Rugby in the Countie of Warwicke the sume of fyve poundes to be bestowed ther in and vpon the makinge of certaine newe pewes or setes in the said Church and that

vppon the Doeres or Endes of the same Pewes or seates the grocers armes of London shalbe carvid with alsoe the letters of L and S adioynge therevnto Item I will that the Daie of my buriall in Rugby aforesaid there be geven and Dytributed to the poore peopell that shall repayre thether the Summe of tenne poundes that is to saie to everye poore man and woman fflowre pence and to Everie poore Child tow pence Item I will that after all my debtes bee payed and the chardge of my funeralls borne that Elizabeth my welbelovid Wyfe shall have for her resonabell parte accordinge to the custome of the Citie of London one halfe of the Residewe of all and singuler my goodes and Chattelles Whatsoever Item I gyve and beqvethe to be bestowed as hereafter insuethe in the said Tounne and parish of Rugbie aforesaid the Summ of ffyve poundes whereof I will that three poundes bee employed vppon the reparacions of the markett crosse there and that ther be a vaine sett vppon the toppe therof wherin shalbe the armes of the grocers of London and the said letters of L S and the other fortie shillinges I will shalbe bestowed in the amendinge of Over bridge and Rugbye bridge to either of them twentie shillinges all which said severall Somes and Legacies I will shalbe paid unto my brother in Lawe John Howkins and to tow other honeste men of good consciences inhabitinge within the said towne of Rugbye to be employed and bestowed as is before expressed presentlie vppon the recepte of the said money or within tow monethes after at the furthest Item I gyve and bequethe to Agnes Mabbe my Syster late the wyfe of John Mabbe of Lecester widowe the Some of iiij^s vj^s viij^d and to her tow sonnes my Cosenes to eyther of them fortie shillinges to make eche of them a Rynge whervppon there shalbe sett a picture of Deathe in a windinge sheet to be delivered them witheyn one monethe after my decease Item I gyve vnto Alice Howkins now my servante and daughter of Brigitt Howkins my syster twentie Poundes and to Barbara Howkins now my Servant Also and daughter of the said Brigitt Howkins my syster of Rugbie aforesaid tenne Poundes to be payd to them at their severall dayes of their marriages or within one monethe after att the furthest Item I gyve unto Helen and Sara Howkins the tow other daughters of my said syster Howkins to eyther of them three poundes vj^s viij^d to bee payed to them within one monethe next after my decease Item I gyve and bequethe towardes the reliefe of the poore in Christes Hospitall in the Citie of London the Summ of Syxe poundes xiiij^s iiij^d to be payed to them within one monethe att the furthest next after my decease Item I gyve and bequethe towardes the relief of the poore in the Hospitall of St Thomas Southeworke and St Bartholomewes in Smythefelde to eyther of them three pounds vj^s viij^d to be

lykewise paid vnto them within one monethe after my decease att the furthest Item I give to the Maister Wardens and Companye of the grocers of London the Summe of Thirteen poundes syxe shillinges viij^d of whiche Some I will that syxe poundes xij^s iij^d be bestowed vppon a recreation to the Company vppon the day of my buriell and that the other syxe poundes xij^s iij^d may be employed vppon decent hanginges or else Pewter Vessells ffor the vse of the Howse wherevppon I will that my marke shalbe sett or graven Item I gyve and bequethe vnto the two Children of Margaret Hallam of Leicester the Wyfe of Hallam to either of them tenne shillinges Item I gyve and bequethe to Elizabethe Honnylove my Servaunte fortie shillinges Item I gyve and bequethe to Will^m Stevenson my prentise fortie shillinges and a blacke gowne and to Raffe Gytens my prentise a blacke gowne and to Mary my maide fortie shillinges and a blacke gowne and to Roger Deale my Servant a blacke gowne and fortie shillinges to amende his wages witheall Item wheras I the said Laurence Shiriffe stand bounde to paye to the vse of Gabriell Argall sonne of Master Thomas Argall the Summe of lawfull money of England my will is that the said Somme of be well and trulle payed accordinge to the forme and Effecte of the said bounde And further I will gyve and bequethe to the said Gabriell the Some of twentie poundes of Lawfull Englishe moneye to be payed to him withe in the space of next after my decease Item I will that withe in convenyent tyme after my decease there shalbe paied and delyvered unto George Harrison of London Gentelman and Barnard ffeilde of London grocer my deare frendes fiftie poundes towardes the buildinge of a schole house and Almes howse in Rugbye aforesaid accordinge to the tenor of a certaine writinge bearinge date the day of the date hereof conteyninge myne intente in that behalfe And Wheras I the said Laurence Shiriffe by Indenture bearinge date the daye of the date hereof have bargayned and sold to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeild all and singuler my landes tenements and hereditaments in the Countie of Warwicke vppon suche truste and to suche good purposes as by the wrightinge aforesaid conteyninge myne intent towchinge the Scholehouse and Almeshouse aforesaid doth appere Now for as muche as I do thinke that the said Landes Tenements and Hereditaments so bargained and sould will not be sufficient to the purposes aforesaid I will give and bequeth to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeilde the somes of one hundrethe poundes of Lawfull Englishe money to purchase therewith somme other Landes as shall at the least be of the clere yerelie value of fortie fyve Shillinges of Lawfull Englishe money the same landes so to be pur-

chased to be vsed conveyed and assured to the purposes and intentes expressed in the said writinge conteynenge myne intentes aforesaid Provided alwayes that yf the said Elizabeth my wyfe do within conveyente tyme after my decease release to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeilde and their heires or to the survivor of them and his heires all her dowrie and title of Dower of and in the premises so as is afforesaid barganed and sold and alsoe doe convey and assure or cause to be conveyed and assured to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeilde and their heires for ever to thentent aforesaid Lands Tenements and hereditaments of the said clere yerely value of fortie fyve shillinges that then the said Legacie of one hundrethe pounds shalbe utterly voyed and of none effecte Anye thinge herein conteyned to the contrayry therof in any wyse notwithstandinge Item I gyve and bequethe to the said Elizabeth my wyfe my graye ambling nagge my cheyne of gould weying xx^u ounces and my goulde Ringe withe the picture of Deathe vpon it the whiche I hade at the deathe of my Lovinge ffriend Master Argall And furthermore I do ordeyne and make the said Elizabeth my wyffe the sole Executrix of this my last will and testament and doo make my Brother in Lawe John Howkins one of the Overseers of the same and gyvinge to my said Brother for his paynes to be takin herin the Somme of ffortie poundes ffor the whiche he shall not onlie helpe and ayde my said wyfe as muche as in him lyethe but alsoe the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeilde specially concerninge the Buildinge of the Schole and other thinges by them to be donne at Rugby Alsoe I doo ordeyne and make my said loving ffriend Barnard ffeild of London grocer to be the other Overseere of this my last will and Testament desiringe him and my said ffriend Maister George Harrison that they will doo as muche as in them dothe lye to se all the Contentes comprised in the writynge before specified concerninge the schole and other thinges at Rugby afforesaid to be performed accordinge to my will and desire even as I have nowe and alwayes have had my speciall trust in them The residewe of all and singuler my debtes goodes and Chattelles not otherwyse by this my last will gyven nor bequethed I whollie gyve and bequethe to the said Elizabeth my wyffe in Concideracion that she shall release all her dower and title of dower as is afforesaid This is the last will and Testament of me Laurence Shiriffe Citizen and grocer of London towching and Concerning all mesuages Landes Tenements and hereditaments wherof I shall be seised of anye Estate of inheritance at the time of my decease in possession reversion or remaynder ffyrst Whereas I have barganed and solde to the said George Harrison and Barnard ffeilde all and singuler my Mesuages Landes tenements and heredita-

mentes in the said Countie of Warwicke I doo by this my last will and Testament will gyve and bequethe the same to the said George Harrison and Barnard feilde and ther heires for ever to the vse of them and ther heirs vppon such trust notwithstandinge as in the saide writinge is declared Item I will that the said Elizabeth my wyffe shall have for terme of her naturall lyffe all and singuler other my Landes Tenementes and hereditaments beinge ffreholde sett and beinge in the Countie of Middlesex or ells where within the Realme of England and after her decease I will and bequethe one full third part thereof the whole being divided into thre partes vnto the said Brigett Howkins my syster for terme of her lyffe and after her decease I will the said third parte remayne to the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Ales Daughters of the said Brigett Howkins and to the heires of ther bodies Lawfully Begotten and yf it fortune all and every of the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alles to dye without yssue of there and every of ther Bodies Lawfully begotten Then I will the said third parte be and remayne to the ryght heires of the said Brigett Howkins for ever Item I will and bequethe to Anthonye Howkins Son of the said Brigett and to the heires of his Bodie Lawfully begotten one other third parte of the said Landes Tenementes and hereditamentes And ffor defalte of suche issue I will the said third parte to remayne to Thomas Howkins brother of the said Anthony Howkins and to the heires of his bodie Lawfullie begotten And for defalt of suche yssue I will the said third parte to remayne to the said Ellyn Sara Barbara and Ales his Sisters and to the heires of their bodyes lawfully begotten and yf it fortune all and everie the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alice to dye without yssue of ther and everie of ther bodies Lawfully begotten Then I will the remaynder therof to the right heires of the said Brigett Howkins ffor ever Item I will gyve and bequethe to the said Thomas Howkins and to the heires of his bodie Lawfulye begotten the other third parte of the said Landes tenements and hereditamentes And for defalte of suche issue I will the same third parte to be and remayne to the said Anthonye and to the heires of his bodie Lawfully begotten And for defalte of such yssue I will the same third parte remayne to the said Ellyn Sara Barbara and Ales his systers and to the heires of ther bodies Lawfully begotten And yf it fortune all and every the said Ellen Sara Barbara and Alice to dye without yssue of ther and every of ther bodyes Lawfully begotten Then I will the remaynder therof to the ryght heires of the said Brigett Howkins ffor ever In witnes wherof I the said Laurence Shiriffe have hervnto sett my hand and Seale The daye and yere first above written in the presence of those whose names be vnder written Laurence Shiriffe Grocer (per me) Georgium Harrison

(per me) Anthony Gregory (per me) William Hewes (per me) Barnard fyldre (per me) Robert Payne."

"This Codicyll or writinge, dated in Rugby in the Countie of Warwicke the last daye of August Anno a Thousand fyve hundreth threscore and Seaven with the all thinges therein conteyned is to be added unto the last will and Testament of me Laurence Shiriffe Citizen and grocer of London wherebye also I doo revoke divers Legacies conteyned in the said last will dated at London the xxij Day of Julye in the said yere as followeth fyrst whereas in the said last will and testament I the said Laurence did gyve and bequethe to George Harrison of London gentelman and vnto Barnard felde Grocer of London the some of one hundreth poundes to suche intent as by the same Will is declared And also did give and bequethe vnto my Syster Bridgett Howkins of Rugby after the decease of Elizabethe my wyffe one whole thirde parte of all those my frehold landes and tenementes in the Countie of Myddlesex to her for terme of her lyffe onlie and after to her iiij Daughters Ellen Sara Barbara and Ales as by the said will more at large dothe appere the said severall Legacies of the said hundred poundes and the said one whole third parte of the said landes I do by thes presentes utterlie revoke and make frustrate and by thes presentes I do will gyve and bequethe all the said one whole third parte of the said landes and tenementes vnto the said George and Barnard to the vse of the said George and Barnard and to their heires Executors and Assignes for ever vpon suche trust and confidence and to the intende as I have donne my parsonage of Brounes over and my house in Rugby aforesaid and not other wyse in any wyse Item I gyve and bequethe vnto the said Brigett my Syster a blacke goun and iiij^s vj^s viij^d in money Item wheras alsoe I have in the former parte of my said Will gyven and bequethed to John Howkins of Rugby the some of fortie poundes I do revoke therof xiiij^s vj^s viij^d and so his Legacie to be but xxvj^s xiiij^s iiij^d and a blacke cote Item I gyve to the said George Harrison and to his wyfe to cyther of them a ringe of fyne gould and to mystres Gregori the wyffe of Anthony Gregori one ringe of fyne gould Laurence Shireffe grocer By me Barnard feild By me John Howkins By me Anthony Howkins By me Ralph Gytens."

["Proved at London 23rd Octr. 1567 before Walter Haddon Doctor of Lawes by the Oaths of George Harrison and Elizabeth Laurence the wife the Ex'ors."]

Copy Signed by Simon Rolleston, Registrar.
[Prerogative Court of Canterbury.]

THE INTENTE OF LAURENCE SHERRIFFE.

[*From an ancient copy on vellum among the Trust Papers. Parts in brackets have been restored from a paper copy, No. 2a.*]

"To all Christian people to whom this present writinge shall Come to bee seene hard or read Lawrence Sherriffe Citizen and Grocer of London George Harrison of London Gent. and Bernard ffield Citizen and Grocer of London send Greeteinge in Our Lord God Everlastinge Whereas the said Lawrence Sherriffe by Indenture beareinge date the day of the date hereof for the Consideracion therein mencioned Hath Bargained and Solde to the saide George and Bernard and their Heires for ever All that his parsonage of Brownesover in the County of Warwick with all the rightes members and appurtenances of the same and all and singuler other the Messuages Landes Tenements and hereditaments of the said Lawrence sett lyinge or beinge in Rugby in the said County of Warrwick and in Brownesover aforesaid or in either of them or elsewhere in the said Countye of Warrwick as by the saide Indenture more playnlye and att large it doth and may appeare The Confidence Trust and Intent of the said Lawrence Sherriffe Neverthelesse is and att the makeinge of the said Indenture was that the saide George and Bernard and their heires should have vse and employ Convey and assure the same to such vses and in such man[ner] and forme as is hereafter declared and to none other vse intent and purpose That is to say the said George and Bernard or the suruior of them or their heires or assignes should with Convenient speede after the decease of the saide Lawrence with the profittes of the premises and with such other sommes of Money as the said Lawrence should therefore giue or appoynt by his Last will and Testament Cause to bee Builde neare to the Messuage or Mansyon howse of the said Lawrence in Rugby aforesaide a fayre and Convenyent Schoole-howse in such sort as to their discretions shalbee thought meete and Convenyent And should alsoe provide or build neare to the said Schoolehowse foure meete and distinct Lodgeings for foure poore men to bee and abyde in accordinge to their good discretions And should alsoe well and sufficiently repayre the saide Messuage or Mansyon Howse which thinges beinge effectually done The will and the intent of the said Lawrence was and is that the said George and Barnard or their heires or assignes or some of them should Cause an honest discreete and Learned man beinge a Master of Artes to bee Reteyned to teach a free Grammar Schoole in the said Schoolehouse And further that after that for ever there should bee

a free Grammar Schoole kept within the said Schoole house to serve Chiefly for the Children of Rugby and Brownesover aforesaid and next for such as bee of other places therevnto adjoyneing And that for ever an honest discreete Learned man should be Chosen and appointed to teach Grammar freely in the same Schoole and the same man (yf it may conveniently bee) to bee euer a M^r of Artes And further the will and intent of the said Lawrence was and is the same Schoole shalbee for ever Called the free Schoole of Laurence Sherriffe of London Grocer And that the Schoolemaster thereof for the tyme beinge for ever shalbee termed or Called the Schoolemaster of Lawrence Sherriffe of London Grocer And that the Schoolemaster and his successors for ever shal haue the said Mansyon howse with thappurtenances to dwell in without any thinge to be paide therefore And further that the Schoolmaster of the said Schoole for euer should haue yearely for his Sallary or wages the Some of Twelve poundes and over this the will and Intent of the said Lawrence was and is that for ever in the said foure Lodgeinges foure poore men should freely haue their Lodgeinges and should alsoe each of them haue towards their Releife Scaven [pence] by the week to bee weekly paid at Rugby aforesaid And that of the said foure poore men [two] should euer bee such as had bene Inhabitantes of Rugby aforesaid and [none other] and the other Twoe such as had bene Inhabitantes of Brownesouer aforesaid and none others And alsoe that the said foure poore men should bee for ever called the Almesmen of Lawrence Sherriffe of London Grocer And further the will and intent of the said Laurence was and is that the Mansyon Howse Schoolehouse and other Lodgeinges should be sufficiently Repayred and mayntayned for euer All which the premisses the saide Lawrence Sherriffe willed and Intended to bee borne paide and performed of the Rentes and profittes of the premisses soe as is aforesaid bargayned and solde And over this his will and desire was and ys that John Howkins of Rugby aforesaid and Bridgett his wife Sister of the said Laurence during their lives should bee the farmers of the said Parsonage and other the premisses in Brounesover aforesaid for the yearely Rent of Sixteene poundes Thirteene shillings foure pence to bee by them therefore paide soe that the saide John and Bridgett doe well and substantially during their lives repayre the Buildinges thereof and well and truly pay the saide Rent and that after their decease before any other some such person as shalbee of the body of the said John Howkins and Bridgett his wife lawfully begotten or Issuinge and shall Inhabitt in Rugby or Brownesouer aforesaid should bee farmer of the saide Personage for the said yearely Rent of Sixteene poundes Thirteene shillings and fourepence yf such bee that will truly

pay the saide Rent without delay and well *and* sufficiently repayre the Buildinge of the premisses in Brownesouer aforesaid And whereas the said Lawrence Sherriffe Intendeth by Gods Grace in his life tyme to erect and Build the Buildinge and Schoolehouse aforesaid and to make or procure some good and substantiall devyse whereby his good Intent aforesaid may haue Contynnance for euer And the said Schoole there to be established to Contynue for euer Yf it please God to graunt him life to performe the same yet neuertheless the desyre confydence and Trust of the said Laurence Sherriffe is that in default thereof the said George Harri[son] and Barnard ffeild will of the Rentes Revenues and somes of money afo[re]said in all respectes substantially truly and effectually accomplish the sa[me] in such wayes as by the lawes of this Realme may most assuredly bee devysd and Convey and assure the Landes tenements Hereditaments and oth[er] the premisses to that only Intent and purpose In Wittnes whereof the s[aid] Lawrence Sherriffe George Harrison and Bernard ffeild haue therevnto sett their seales the xxijth day of July in the xth Year of the Raigne of our most excellent Sovereign Ladye Queene Elizabeth Anno Domini 1567.

“The true Coppye of the Intent of Lawrence Sherriffe Concerning the Parsonage of Brownesouer which Intent was Sealed Subscribed and delivered by Lawrence Sherriffe George Harrison and Barnard ffeild as by the same Intent appeareth Coppyed the 20th of December 1580 E. Harrison.”

II.—EXTRACTS FROM GROCERS' COMPANY'S RECORDS.

LAWRENS SHRIFFE.

<i>Freedom.</i>	Late Apprentice of William Walcott Received and sworn 2 day of February 1541	} 13/4.
<i>Livery.</i>	Lawrens Sheriff elected on to the Livery 1554 paying	

Court. Court meeting 1st August 1562.

At this Court Laurence Sheryff was sworne into the Assistance of this Companie and placed accordinge to his Ancyentrie.

Warden. Court held 5 July 1566.

Mr. Lawrence Sheriff chosen second Warden.

The following entries appear in the Wardens' Account Book for 1567 :—

Receyved of Mrs Elizabeth Sherif widow for so much her late husband Mr Laurence Sherif deceased bequeathed to make a dynner for the lyvrey of this Company the day of his buriall . . . £6 : 13 : 4

Paid to Henry Cloker and John Gardener Stewards for provyding the dynner for the lyvrey of this Company the same day Mr Laurence Sherif was buried £6 : 13 : 4

BARNERDE FEYLDE.

Extract from Wardens' Account Book 22nd May 1842 to 28th May 1543.

Barnard Feylde.

Apprentice of Lawrens Shriffe R. and sworne the first day of February ij^s vjd

The list of admittances to Freemen from July 1550 to May 1551 are missing.

In the list of Freemen paying Bretherede money 25th May 1551 to 20 Juyne 1552—

Extract. *Barnerde Feylde pays ij^s.*

Extract.

At a Courte of Assistents holden the 9th daye of Maye 1567.

Also where there was 16 persons at the last courte apointed to enter into the lyvrey and clothing of this Companie It ys now agreed that there shalbe 17 taken yn and placed as followeyth :—

Barnard Felde placed 7th.

Wardens' Account Book 10th July 1581 to 9 July 1582. Bretherede money.

Barnerd Felde ij^s.

This is the last time his name appears. For Barnard Field see also State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth (vol. xlv. No. 63 ; cvii. No. 73 ; cxx. No. 6).

THE RECORDS OF LINCOLN'S INN (VOL. III.).

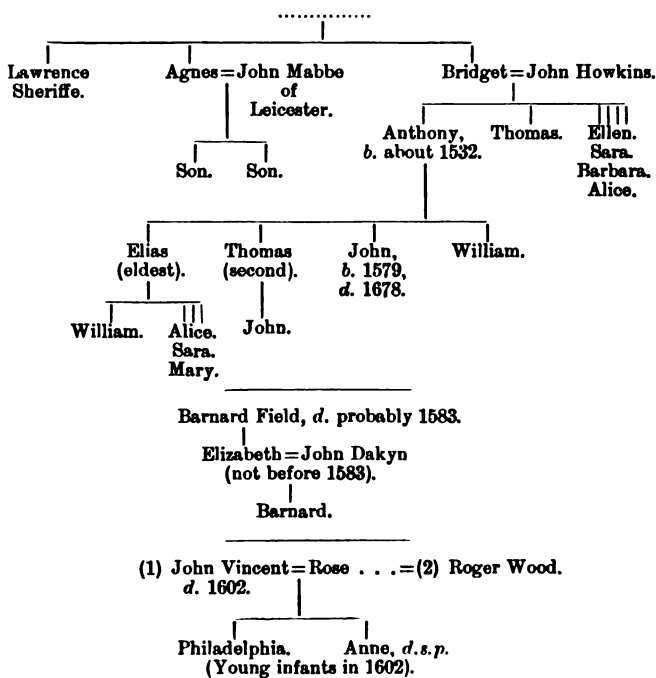
The Black Books.

Page 348. Accounts of Ralph Scroope, Esquire, Treasurer, 6 and 7 Eliz. 1564/5. Receipts.—£3. 6s. 8d. from Mr. Lawrence Sheriff Tenant of a tenement within the gate called Newgate, and commonly

known as "The King's Grocer's House" (lately left by the will of Roger Cholmley, alias Cholmondeley Knight, late Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to William Cordell Knight, Master of the Rolls in the Chancery of England and others to the uses in the said will declared), being half a year's rent due at Michaelmas last.

Page 358. Accounts of John Salren, Esquire, the Treasurer, 8 and 9 Elizabeth, 1566/7. Receipts.—£6. 13s. 4d. from Elizabeth Sheriff, widow, for the rent of the King's Grocer's House in Newgate.—[From the *Meteor*, Nov. 1897, p. 122.]

TABLES.



III.—PARTICULARS FOR GRANTS.

4 ELIZ. [1561].

[Wrongly catalogued under *She*.]

Application of Lawrence Sheriffe and Thomas Reve, signed by Thomas Reve, with a flourish between the two names which resembles the "letters of L. and S."

[The actual grant is enrolled in Patent Rolls, 4 Eliz. Part I. : Lawrence Shryve and Thomas Reve. I have not fully collated this, but have satisfied myself that the places named are substantially the same.]

Application to purchase—

Farm in Frythe (Staff.), late of the Monastery of Delacres.

Farms in Newcastle-under-Lyme, Shebridge, and Whitman (Staff.), late of the Priory of Trentham.

Farm of the moiety of the Rectory of Willoughton (Lincs.), late of Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

Farm of the Rectory of Garnethorp (Lincs.), late of Monastery of Alvingham.

Farms in Garnethorp, late of Monastery of Nun-Ormesby and Priory of Alvingham.

Farm in Assheby-Magna (Leic.), late of Priory of Catesby.

Farms in Letherhedd (Surr.), late of John Leighe.

Farm of lands called Hobbalds in the parishes of Moredon, Maldon, and Marton (Surr.), late of Priory of the House of Christ of Bethlehem in Shene (Surr.).

Farms in Acaster (York), late of the Priory of St. Andrew (York).

Rents in Fletchampsted (War.), late of Monastery of Stoneley (War.)

Farm in Sellinge (Kent), late of the Hospital of St. Mary, Dover.

Farm in Cassall (Notts), late of the Abbey of Dale, Derby.

Farm of tenements in Penllin (Flint.), late of Monastery of Basingwerk (Flint.)

Tenths in Brownesover (War.), late of the Monastery of De Pratis (Leic.).

II

DOCUMENTS IN THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT OF THE RECORD OFFICE

A.—Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth, Gg. 13, No. 7.

B.—Chancery Petty Bag, Charitable Uses, Warwickshire.

Description.	Reference.
1. Inquisition of 1602 (printed below), with Decree, Bundle 1, No. 28 [The Decree is in a bad condition, but there is an incomplete copy at Rugby. See below.]	
2. 1614 [Mr. Rolfe, Master]	6 „ 1
3. Inquisition of 1653 [Very full. See a Brief of this under III. below.]	21 „ 20
4. Depositions, 1654	6 „ 4
5. Same	16 „
Exceptions, Answers, and Replications :—	
4. John Harrington's Answer, 1613	Part I. 154
5. William Howkins, Exceptions, 1652	„ IX. 28
6. John Howkins, Exceptions, 1652	„ IX. 29
7. Answers to John Howkins	„ IX. 34
8. Answers to William Howkins	„ IX. 35
9. Replications to Answers to William Howkins	„ IX. 41
10. Replications to Answers to John Howkins	„ IX. 42

Inrolments :—

14. Inrolments, Part XIV., 19th July, 18 Car. [1642].

„ „ XIV., 26th Nov., 19 Car. [1643].

C.—Chancery Bills and Answers :—

1. James I., D, 13.15.

2. Charles I., R. 45.62 (see below).

A.—CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

ELIZABETH, Gg. 13, No. 7.

To Sir Thos. Bromley, Kt., Lord Chancellor. Petition of 'Nicholas Greenhill of Rookebie in the County of Warr., Scholemaster of the free grammar schole there,' against John Emerston, 'whose syster one Elizabeth fytzherbert widdowe your suppliant had married,' for £40. [Damaged.]

B.—INQUISITION OF 1602.

CHANCERY PETTY-BAG, CHARITABLE USES, Bk. I. No. 28.

[Abbreviations of the text enclosed in square brackets. Restored letters have a question mark appended. I have copied the important parts of this document myself; the remainder was done by a copyist.]

An Inquisition taken at Rugby [Sep. 30. 44 Eliz.] Before Zachary Babington Doctor of Lawe Chancellor to the Bishoppe of the dyocesse of Coventry and Lychfield, William fieldinge, William Combes Edward Stapleton Esquires Roger Barker and Danyell Nayler Maisters of Arts and preachers of the word by vertewe of her Majesties commission under the great seale of England out of her highnes Court of Chancery before the takeing of this Inquisition to them and others directed for the due execution of [the Act for Charitable Uses, Oct. 27, 43 Eliz.] by the oathes of Willm. Dilkes of Clyfton gent. James Willington of Brownesouer gent. John Towers of Thurleston gent. George Boddington of Harborough gent. Richard Baylyes of Hylmoreton Henry Perkins of the same Richard Smyth of the same Edward Bromych of the same Marmaduke ff[eilding?] of Tofte Richard Youle of Dunichurch John ffaux of Bylton John Nicholls of the same Robert Chiles of Harborough Richard Rose of Clifford . . . Clerke of Longe Lawford John Pynchbacke of Clyfton and Henry Bennett of Thurleston lawfull men of the com. aforesaid who say upon their oathes That Lawrence Sheriffe late citizen and grocer of London deceased was in his lief tyme lawfullie seised in his demesne as of fee of and in the Rectory parsonage and church of Brownesouer appropryate in the com. of Warwicke with all the rights members and appurtenances thereof And of and in diuers lands tenements tythes and heredytaments in Brownesouer aforesaid parcell of and belonging to the said Rectory parsonage and Church of Brownesouer and of and in one messuage wth the appurtenances in Rugby aforesaid w^{ch} was the mancion howse of the said Lawrence Sheriffe whiles he lived. And he being thereof seized did by his deede Indented beareing date the two and twentieth daie of Julie in the Nynth yere of the Raigne of our said soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth and in her Majesties said Court of Chancery within Sixe monthes next after the daie of the date thereof acknowledged and enrolled and there of record amongst the Rolles of the same Court remayneinge made betweene him the said Lawrence Sheriffe on the one parte and George Harrison of London aforesaid gent. and Bernard ffieild citizen and

grocer of London aforesaid both deceased on the other part for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds of good and lawfull money of England to him the said Lawrence Sheriffe paid by the said George Harryson and Bernard feild did graunt bargain and sell unto the said George Harryson and Bernard feild and to their heires for euer the said Rectory parsonage and Church of Brownesouer wth all the Right Members and appurtenances thereof And the said messuage lands tenements and heredytaments in Brownesouer and Rugby aforesaid . . . To the vse of them and of their heirs and assigns for euer and under this proviesoe in the same deede indented conteigned neuertheles That if the said Lawrence Sheriffe did att any time duringe his naturall liefe pay to the said George Harryson and Bernard feild or to eyther of them or to the executors or administrators of eyther of them or to any other person or persons To the vse of the said George and Bernard or either of them the some of fyve shillinges of good and lawfull money of England for the Redemption of the premisses and did testyfie or declare the said payment by wryteinge subscribed wth the proper hand of the said Lawrence Sheriffe or sealed with his seale That then the said bargain and sale should be voide and of none effect And that then and from thenceforth ytt should be lawfull to the said Lawrence Sheriffe and his heires into the said bargained premisses to Reenter and them to haue again As in his former estate. And further the said jurors do say vpon their oathes aforesaid That the said George and Bernard by force of the aforesaid bargain and sale in and by the said deede Indented and the said Inrollment thereof And of the statute made in the Parlyment holden at Westminster in the Com. of Midd. [Feb. 4, 27 Hen. VIII.] for transferring of vses into possession were of the premisses lawfully seized in their demesne as of fee And that ther soe beinge thereof seized after the sealinge and deliueringe and acknowledginge of the said deed of bargain and sale and the Inrollment thereof as ys aforesaid The said Lawrence Sheriffe George Harryson and Bernard feild by their deed under their hands and seales bearinge even date wth the said deede of bargain and sale recyteinge the said bargain and sale and the deede thereof made did declare. That the confidence trust and Intent, etc. [*Recites the Will and Intent.*] And moreover the jurors aforesaid doe saie vpon their oathes that the said Lawrence was also in his liefe time lawfullie seized in his demesne as of fee amongst other thinges of and in one Close of meadow or pasture groundes commonlie called or knownen by the name of the Cunduite Close or Cunduite feild in the parish of St. Andrewes in Holburne in the Com. of Midda. Whereof one third part was late in the tenure of

one Robert Carre deceased for and vnder the yearlie Rent of eight poundes and now or late in the tenure of one John Vincent or of his assignes. And that hee soe beinge thereof seised did make his last will and testament in writeinge bearinge date the said two and twentieth daie of Julie And therebie amongst other thinges did will that within convenient time after his decease there should be paid and delivered to the said George Harrison & Bernard ffeild fiftie poundes towards the buildinge of a Schoole howse and Almes howse in Rugbie aforesaid accordinge to the tenure of the writeinge bearinge even date wth the said will conteigninge his intent in that behalfe as ys aforesaid And therebie recyted etc. [*Recites the Codicil.*] And the jurors aforesaid doe further saie vpon ther oathes that [before?] the buildinge or providinge of the said schoole howse or any lodgings for the said poore or any of them the said Lawrence Sheriffe before the three and twentieth daie of October next ensewing the daye of y^e date of the Codicill aforesaid died of the said Close called the Conduite Close seized of such estate as ys aforesaid. And that after his decease the said George Harrisone and Bernard ffeild beinge by vertewe of the demise aforesaid seized in their demesne as of free of and in the said third parte of the said Close and of all other the premisses in Brownesouer and Rugbie aforesaid seized as ys aforesaid In parte of the performance of the intende aforesaid they the said George and Bernard by their severall deedes Indented bearinge date the ffoure and twentieth daie of Januarie in the one and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our said soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth did demise unto Anthonie Howkins eldest sonne of the said John Howkins and of the said Bridgett his wiefe Sister of the said Lawrence Sheriffe and to John Howkins deceased, sonne of the said Anthonie both of them inhabitinge in Brownesouer aforesaid and the said Anthonie euer since and yett inhabitinge in and upon the said parsonage howse there All the said rectorie and parsonage of Brownesouer wth the appurtenances sett lienge and beinge in Brownesouer aforesaid in the Com. of Warwicke Together wth other landes tenementes edifices buildinges and hereditamentes whatsoever to the said rectorie or parsonage belonginge or in anie wise appurteigninge or reputed and taken as parte parcell or member thereof for and duringe the terme of fiftie yeares from the daie of the death of the said John Howkins ffather of the said Anthonie and of the said Bridgett his wiefe and of the survivor of them yf they the said Anthonie and John his sonne or either of them should soe longe liue (w^{ch} John and Bridgett then held the same by a lease of the same date to them made by the said Harrison and ffeild for fortie yeares if they the said John or Bridgett should so long

line w^{ch} leases were for by and vnder the yearlie Rent of sixteene poundes thirteene shillinges and ffoure pence of lawfull monie of England to be paid at the ffoure vsuall feastes of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Marie, the natiuitie of St John the baptist St Michael the Archangell and the birth of our lord God by equall portions w^{ch} by and under one Proviso in the said demise conteigned That yf yt should fortune the said yearlie Rent of Sixteene poundes Thirteene shillinges and ffoure pence or anie parte or parcell thereof to be behinde or vnpaide by the space of one moneth after anie of the said seuerall feastes and daies att the w^{ch} the same were limited by the said demise to be paid dureinge the tearme of fiftie yeares beinge lawfullie asked) or yf the reparations afterwarde in the said demise and also in this inquisition mentioned to be made and done in and upon the said Rectorie or parsonage and other premisses in Brownesouer aforesaid should not be made and done accordinge to the true intent and meaninge of the said demise within the space of eight monethes next after warneinge should be giuen unto the said Anthonie Howkins and John his sonne or one of them or their assignes by the said George Harrison and Bernard feild or one of them their heires or assignes for the doeing and makeinge thereof That then ytt should and might be lawfull to and for the said George Harrison and Bernard feild their heires and assignes into the said Rectorie or parsonage and other the premisses with the appurtenances in Brownesouer aforesaid whollie to Reenter and the same to haue againe retaine and repossess as in their former state And the said Anthonie Howkins and John his sonne therefrom vtterlie to expell amoue and putt out anie thinge in the said demises to the Contrarie notwithstandinge And moreouer ytt is covenanted concluded condescended and agreed by and betweene the said parties to the said demise That the said Anthonie Howkins and John his sonne their executors and assignes should from time to time as often as neede should require duringe the said tearme The aforesaid Rectorie and parsonage edifices buildinges and other premisses in Brownesouer aforesaid with their appurtenances well and sufficiently repaire susteine and mainteigne and [vntil ?] the end of the said tearme should leave sufficientlie repaired and amended and also that all the lessees of the premisses in Brownesouer aforesaid w^{ch} from the time should be should dwell and inhabite in Rugble or Brownesouer aforesaid. And that the same lessees should not alienate or sett ouer anie parte of their interestes of and in the premisses or anie parte thereof aboue one or two yeares att the most w^{ch} yf they should not obserue or doe the contrarie that then and from thenceforth their estates and interestes of and in the premisses should cease and be vtterlie voids for

euer Anie thinge in the said demise to the contrarie notwithstandinge
 As by the deeds of demise thereof made by the said George and
 Bernard shewed forth in evidence vpon the takeinge of this Inquisicon
 may more att large appeare. And the said jurors doe further saye vppon
 their oathes aforesaid that after the decease of the said Lawrence
 Sheriffe neyther the said George Harrisone nor Bernard feilde nor anie
 other for them did builde anie lodgings for the said foure Almes men
 but did place in some parte of the Mancion howse in Rugby aforesaid
 wherein the said Lawrence Sheriffe did inhabite foure poore men
 whereof two were of Rugby aforesaid and the other two of Brownes-
 ouer aforesaid. And afterwarde about seaven yeares after the death
 of the said Lawrence Sheriffe the buildinge of a schoole howse on
 the back side of the said Mansion Howse was finished wth the Rent of
 the parsonage aforesaid vpon parte of the grounde w^{ch} belonge to the
 same howse and that Seventeene poundes of the said rent ouer and
 aboue soe much as builded the schoole howse was deliuered vnto the
 said Bernard feild but neither the said seauenteene poundes nor the
 said fiftie poundes were ymployed accordinge to the intent aforesaid
 to the knowledge of the juror aforesaid. And about that time the said
 Bernard feilde surviveinge the said George Harrison nominated and
 appointed one Edward Rolleston a M^r of Artes to be Schoolemaster att
 Rugby aforesaid and to teach in the said Schoole howse accordinge to
 the intent of the said Lawrence Sheriffe and allowed to him for his
 dwellinge in Rugby all the said Mansion howse but that parte w^{ch} was
 assigned and allotted for the lodgings of the said foure poore men.
 And whereas the dores of the said lodgeings for the said poore men
 did then open inwards to the Mansion howse they were then turned
 and made to open outwarde on the East side of the said Mansion
 Howse and Chimneys and partitions were also builded and made in the
 said poore mens lodgings soe as euerie of them haue a chimney and
 two Roomes thone over thother w^{ch} lodgeinges for the said poore
 men hath ben soe vsed quetlie by them wthout interruption by the said
 Edward Rolleston whilst he was schoolmaster and dwellinge in the
 Mansion Howse aforesaid and also whilst Richard Seale was Schoole-
 master att Rugby aforesaid and dwelt in the said Mansion Howse who
 was placed there by the appointment of the said Bernard feilde next
 after the said Edward Rolleston. And afterwards the said Richard
 Seale beinge remoued by the said Bernard feilde about the feast of
 [Michaelmas, 1581, 23 Eliz.] did nominate and appointe one Nicholas
 Greenhill to be schoolemaster at Rugby aforesaid of the schoole afore-
 said and placed him in the Mansion Howse to dwell therein as others
 had done before And the said Bernard field further appointed that

after three yeares tryall of the said Nicholas Greenhill in that place that hee the said Nicholas should be and continewe there duringe his liefe yf there should be noe just cause given by the said Nicholas Greenhill to the contrarie. And was contented and appointed to be allowed vnto the said Nicholas Greenehill for his salarie ffoure poundes by the yeare to be yearlie paid him out of the said third parte of the said Close called Conduite Close ouer and aboue the said some of Twelve poundes payable for his sallarie out of the parsonage of Brownesouer aforesaid the rent of which said third parte of the said close called Conduit ffelide was then by reservation vpon a demise thereof made by the said Bernard ffelid to one Robert Carre by Indenture bearinge date [April 20, 23 Eliz.] for eight and ffortie yeares from the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Marie then next insewinge was eight poundes by the yeare whereof the said ffoure poundes by the Yeare was paid to the said Nicholas Greenehill since he was schoole-master as is aforesaid vntill about three yeares and a halfe last past and foure and thirtie shillinges and eight pence yearlie to the said ffoure poore men to make them full payment of the said Seauen pence apeice a weeke appointed vnto them as ys aforesaid vntill ffine yeares last past ended att Michaelmas last past and the residue of the said eight poundes by the yeare to witt ffive and ffortie shillinges and ffourpence hath not ben yearlie paid or allowed towards the repaire of the said schoole howse mansion howse or Almes howse or anie other the intents aforesaid which said schoolehowse the said jurors saye ys nowe in good repaire but the said ffoure lodgeinges for the said poore men the said jurors saye doe wante repaire in the walls thereof. And furthermore the jurors aforesaid saie vpon their oathes aforesaid That the said John Howkins the ffather and Bridgett his wiefe afterwarde att Brownesouer aforesaid died after whose decease the said Anthonie Howkins the said John his sonne beinge then deade by vertewe of the said demise to them soe made entred into the said Rectorie and parsonage and was and yett ys thereof possessed for all the Residue of the said tearme of ffiftie yeares yett to come yf hee the said Anthonie shall soe long liue And that the saide some of sixteene poundes thirteene shillinges and ffour pence hath ben ever since the erectinge of the said Schoole howse trullie paid accordinge to the intent aforesaid. That is to say Twelve poundes thereof yearlie, vnto such as haue ben Schoolemasters in the Schoole of Rugby aforesaid and ffoure poundes sixe shillinges eight pence more of the said Rent yearlie by ffive pence a weeke vnto such as haue ben the ffoure poore Almes men aforesaid and the sixe shillinges eight pence residewe hath ben also paid to the said schoole-master towards the repaire of the aforesaid dwellinge howses of the

said Schoolemasters the schoole howse and Almes howses. And the said jurors doe also saye vpon their oathes aforesaid That euer since the decease of the said Lawrence Sheriffe the said *parsonage* of Brownesouer hath ben mainteyned sustained and kept in good and sufficient repaire But the jurors aforesaid say vpon their oathes That since the decease of the said Lawrence Sheriffe and since the demise aforesaid made to the said Anthonie and John Howkins the said George Harrisone dyed And that the said Bernard ffield him ouerlived by force whereof the said *parsonage* and premisses in Brownesouer and Rugby aforesaid and the said third *parte* of the said close aforesaid beinge accrewed vnto the said Bernard ffield and hee helde himselfe in them by Right of Survivor and was thereof seized in his demesne as of fee to such trust as ys aforesaid And soe beinge thereof seized died of such estate thereof seized By and after whose decease the same descended vnto Elizabeth ffield daughter and sole heire of the said Bernard By force whereof she was thereof seized in her demesne as of fee to such trust as ys aforesaid And soe beinge thereof seized tooke to husband one John Dakyn By force whereof the said John and Elizabeth were thereof seized as in the right of the said Elizabeth in their demesne as of fee to such trust as ys aforesaid. And they soe beinge thereof seized the said Elizabeth died of such estate of the premisses seized By force whereof the premisses disceded and came to Bernard Dakyn sonne and heire of the said Elizabeth By force whereof hee was thereof seized in his demesne as of fee to such trust as ys aforesaid. And the jurors aforesaid saye vpon their oathes that the said Bernard Dakyn hath by his deede Indented bearinge date the ffoure and twentieth daie of November in the two and ffortith yeare of the Raigne of o^r soveraigne Ladie Queene Elisabeth made betweene him the said Bernard Dakyn on the one *parte* And John Vincent of Kentyshe Towne in the said Com. of Middlesex gent. on the other *parte* And in her Majesties Court of Chancerie of Record within sixe monethes next after the said daie of the date thereof for and in consideration of the some of sixe score poundes of lawfull monie of England to him the said Bernard Dakin in hand paid by the said John Vincent bargained and solde vnto the said John Vincent and his heirs and assignes for euer And that the said John Vincent before and att the time of his bargaine and agreement for the purchase of the said third *parte* of the said Close of the said Bernard had notice and knowledge of the trust aforesaid concerninge the same and ys sithens deceased haveinge yssewe Philadelphia and Anne his two sole daughters and heires. And further the jurors say that albeit that longe before the sale made to the said John Vincent that the aforesaid Bernard ffield

by his said deede bearinge date the Twentieth daie of April in the three and twentieth yeare of our said soveraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth did demise the said third parte of the said close aforesaid vnto one Robert Carre for the tearme of eight and fortie yeares from the Annunciacon of the blessed Virgin Marie then next ensewinge for the yearlie Rent of eight poundes Yett nevertheless the said third parte of the said Close is yearlie worth Twentie poundes by the yeare att the least. In wytnes whereof as well wee the said Zachary Babington William ffeldinge William Combes Edward Stapleton Roger Barker and Danyell Nayler as also the said jurors have herevnto putt our hands and seales the daie and yeare first above written.

C.—CHANCERY BILLS AND ANSWERS.

CHARLES I., R. 45. 62 [Nov. 1632].

Summary.—Anthony Howkins, Rector of the Improprate Parsonage of Brownsover, aged 100 years or thereabouts. Elizabeth, by letters patent dated Mar. 7, 5 Eliz. [1562/3] for £2243. 11d. 3d., granted to Lawrence Sheriffe and Thomas Reve, amongst other things, "all her tithes of corn, grain, and hay yearly growing, renewing, and increasing within the fields and hamlets of Br. aforesaid," "and also one messuage and one yard land with the appurtenances in Brownsover lately belonging to the monastery of Leicester."

This the two grantees held together until the decease of Reve, when L. S. "was seised of it alone." [The Trust to Field and Harrison recited.]

"About which tyme the said Lawrence Sherriffe purchased divers messuages in Rugby aforesaid and with great costes and expences of money pulled downe the same houses being ruynous And new builded a faire Dwelling Howse for the Schoolemaster of the said Schoole for the time being and a large howse for a Schoole there, and foure meete and convenient Almes houses for the said foure Almesmen." Sheriffe died; this good intent was carried out, and John and Bridgett Howkins held Brownsover, with the stated rent-charge duly paid, and their son after them, until about 1612, when Edward Boughton wanted to enclose the common fields, surveyed the glebe lands, &c., plaintiff being then near eighty years old. He wished to wait until his son should come from London, but B. persuaded him it was needless [detailed account of the transaction, with names], and gave his wife £5 and many good words for him to sign a document. [The rest as described in text.]

D.—PETITION OF 1581 [WRONGLY CATALOGUED AS OF 1580],
RECORD OFFICE: STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC.

ELIZ., vol. 146, No. 65.

"Articles objected before the Lordes and the reste of Her Majesties moste honorable Privy Counsell againste Edwarde Boughton, of Cawston, in the Countie of Warrwick, Esquire.

"1. Imprimis: He is a boulsterer and maynetainer of evell menn and of evell causes in the cuntrie wheare he dwellethe namelie of Nicholas Greenhell, and others.

"2. Item: He is a favorer of notorious papistes, and he is ioyned in league with them, and namelie with one Barnarde Ffiede.

"3. Item: He is a packer of Juryes, to the pervertinge of Justice and equitie; namelie, aboute the billes of Indictments against the Bishop of Coventry and Lichefeld, and his officers.

"4. He is a greate practizer of Indictmentes againste his poore neighbours, and presumethe to put in and oute of the billes of indictments whome he will him selfe to serve his owne turne, contrarie to the lawe and order.

"5. Item: He is an oppressor of his owne neighbours, and by tyranny and power makethe them to stoupe vnto him in all purposes, and if theie will not, troublethe them to theire vndoinges, as of late by indictinge at Warrwick, and fetchinge vpp to the Starr Chamber, or otherwise vexinge and molestinge and hundred weomen and childrenn, or theare aboute, in the parishe of Rugby, withoute anie iuste cause at all, but of meere malice, for that he dothe not favour him in placinge a notorious [here is set down a foul word] to be scoolemaster theare.

"9. Item: He him selfe, with divers others in his companie, riotously and contrary to iustice, hathe made a forcible entrie into the scoole of Rugby, in the Countie of Warrwick, and from thence hathe removed with stronge hande and displaced one Richarde Seele, being quietlie possessed of the same for the space of eighteene monethes before.

"15. Item: He hath made suche a sturr of late in the cuntrie where he dwellethe, amongste his poore neighbours by vexinge them at sessions, assises, and in the starr chamber, that if the Bishop had not appeased theire rage, and diswaded them to the contrarie, theare had come up multitudes of his oppression and crueltie.

"16. Item: He is ann obstinate Puritan; dispisethe the order of the booke established by acte of parlamente, settethe up and main-tainethe newe service, newe fastes, and suche other like singuler divises, or favoreth the same, to the greate disturbance of that parte of the diocese wheare he dwellethe, and the quiet gouernmente of the clergie theare."

III

DOCUMENTS PRESERVED AT RUGBY

A.—Trustees' Books of Accounts and Orders, from 1667.

B.—Rugby School Register, from 1675.

C.—Trust Papers, of which the following are chief :—

Without number—

- (a) Certificated Copy, on vellum, of Lawrence Sheriffe's Will, Codicil, and Intent, written in 1580. [The originals seem to have perished. Howkins is stated in *T.P.*, No. 68, to have destroyed some documents ; perhaps these were among them.]
- (b) Original Will of Anthony Howkins.
- (c) Certified Copy of John Allen's appointment.
- (d) Brief, stating case for the Inquisition of 1653. [There are several copies of this document, one of which was printed in Bloxam's *Rugby*, pp. 26-28, but so incorrectly that it is here given again.]
- (e) Abstract of Decrees relating to the School.

Numbered—

- 1. Copy of Indenture : Purchase of Conduit Close (24 acres) for £320, by L. S. and Elizabeth his wife, from John Streete of Holborn, Nov. 18, 2 Eliz.
- 2. Copy of L. S.'s Will, on paper, attested by Simon Rolleston (from Somerset House, *Sloane*, fol. 27).
- 2a. Copy of L. S.'s Intent, on paper, "true copy," but not signed. Note at foot—"This original is likely to be kept in some chest."
- 19, &c. Rugby School Case [many copies, varying in particulars].
- 51a. Appointment of Peter Whitehead.
- 72. Mrs. Pearce's Petition.
- 79. Decree of 1602 (incomplete).
- 80, &c. Exceptions, Answers, &c. (1653).
- 85, 86, 87, 100a, &c. Depositions (1653).
- 138, with 93, 94, 95. Briefs.
- Vouchers, Bills, Receipts, &c.
- List of Old Deeds relating to the School, from 1750 onwards.

A.—EXTRACTS FROM THE TRUSTEES' BOOKS OF
ORDERS AND ACCOUNTS, 1667-1850.

May 3, 1670.

It is ordered that Knightley Harrison Master of Arts be admitted Schoolemaster Provided the said Mr Harrison give security by himselfe and other responsible persons in 500^l for surrendring the said Schoole at three moneths warneing by the major parte of the ffeoffees and to observe such orders as the said ffeoffees or the major part of them shall make from time to time.

Nov. 4, 1673.

Ordered that the orders subscribed by the ffeoffees be set up in the Schoole to be observed by all parties concerned.

Aug. 4, 1674.

Ordered that 9^s 1^d ob. apiece be deducted out of each Almesmans pay for his quarter's salary being forfeited by each of the Almsmen for their neglect in observing the order of resorting to the Schoole to heare prayers.

March 2, 1674/5.

The last meeteing adjourned till this day and Robert Ashbridge Mr of Arts admitted Schoolemaster to enter upon the employment from Munday after Easter weeke and in the meane time Mr Harrison to remove himselfe and his family (yf it may be conveniently) or as soone after as possibly may be.

20 May 1676.

Paid to Mr Ashbridge by the hands of Mr Bromwich in pte of the moneys in banke towards the building of the chambers over the Schoole by the appoyntment of the ffeoffees 08 00 00

Nov. 7, 1676.

Whereas the second of May last there was thirtene pounds seaven shillings in banke whereof eight pounds is already paid to Mr Ashbridge It is ordered that fowre pounds more be paid to him for the further reimbursing him the charge of the chambers newly erected over the Schoole, which is this day paid by Mr Bromwich accordingly 04 00 00

2 Aug. 1681.

Memorandum That Mr Leonard Jeacocke Mr of Arts is by the consent of the ffeoffees admitted Schoolemaster in the stead of Mr Ashbridge whensoever Mr Ashbridge shall leave the place.

Feb. 7. 1687/8.

Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed ffeoffees of the free Schoole and Almeshouses of Rugby in the County of Warwick Doe hereby elect nominate & appoint Mr Henry Holyoake Master of Arts to be Schoolemaster of Rugby free Schoole aforesaid in the place of Mr Leonard Jeacocke late Schoolemaster deceased.

Leigh. J. Bridgeman. Basil ffeilding. Tho: Clerke.
Tim: St Nicholas. Oliver Cave. ff. Burdon.

May 1, 1694.

Whereas there remains in Banke untill *and* at this day the summe of Fourty five pounds Six shillings *and* noe more It is ordered that thirty two shillings eight pence be paid *and* is now paid accordingly to Mr Edmd. Bromwich for charges of serving *and* copying the Injuncion about Conduit feild upon the Brickmakers *and* that there be paid *and* is now paid to Richard Pindar thirty one pounds ffeene shillings to George Cotton the Mason Eight pounds four shillings to W^m Sherman the Glazier two pounds Eight shillings *and* for boord one pound to W^m Strong Eight pounds tenne shillings which worke was all imployed about making new chambers over the Schoole soe that there is paid more then in banke eight pounds three shillings eight pence Which Mr Bromwich haveing laid downe It is ordered the same is to be paid him out of the ensuing rents.

7 Aug. 1705.

Mr Holyoake the Schoolemaster haveing this day applyed to vs to give our consent that he may take the Presentation to the Rectory of Bilton now vacant and hold the same with the Schoole of Rugby contrary to an order made for the better Governement of the Schoole And promising to kepe a Curate who shall take care of his schollars when he officiates there in Person In consideracion whereof [is alsoe ?] That Bilton is very nere to Rugby And as a Testimony of our Particuler Esteeme for Mr Holyoake and of our approveing his Labours whereby he hath deserved very well of vs in Recovering the Credit & reputation of the Schoole which Circumstances may [probably ?] never recur in another Schoolemaster and therefore the Schoole not being like to suffer by the President Wee doe by virtue of the Power Reserved to us to alter the orders att this time dispense with the aforesaid order and allow Mr Holyoake's takinge the presentation to the said Rectory and his holding the same with the Schoole.

6 May 1707.

George Webb having been absent two mornings & five evenings from prayers this last Quarter is fined four pence halfpenny according to the Orders And is admonished to observe the orders better and lodge in his lodging for the future on paine of Expulsion.

3 Aug. 1712.

Mr Holioake, the Schoole master, representing to the ffeoffees at this their Quarterly meeting that Mr Blake (who married his Sister) Late Incumbent of the parish church of Harborow near this place had in his Lifetime been at Great Expenses in repairing and rebuilding the Chancell and Parsonage house there and had sustained great Losses by the falling of a Tenant that rented his Tithes, and that S^r W^m Boughton patron of that Church in Compassion and Charity to Mr Blakes Widdow and Child, And in Confidence of his affection and kindness to them had presented him to the said Church now vacant & he humbly prayed the Consent of the ffeoffees for his takeing vpon him that Cure. Whereupon the ffeoffees considering the order of this Schoole against the Schoolemaster takeing vpon him any Cure of souls, or other Impleymēt that may hinder his due attending and diligently executing his duty in the School, and the particular circumstances of this Case, and being assured by the Schoolmaster that he Intends noe advantage to himselfe, and that he will constantly keep a Curate to supply the said Cure—They conceive the Intention of this order, which was to prevent a neglect of the Schoole will not be disappointed by their giving such Consent—And therefore by virtue of the power reserved to them to Expound and alter the orders of this School, They doe allow the Schoolmaster to proceed and take Institution and Induction to the Church of Harborow, If he can obtain the same. And this they have directed to be entred that noe Ill Use may be hereafter made of this precedent, and of their Indulgence in this Charitable Case. (9 signatures.)

2 Aug. 1726.

To Widow Watts her Bill for Bricks	01 14 0
To Thos: Harrall his Bill for building a Mudd Wall etc	06 15 6
To W ^m Baxter his Bill for picking Lathe etc.	00 06 00
To W ^m Ladbroke his Bill for mending the Pump in the Garden etc.	00 05 00
To W ^m Sherman his Bill for Glass etc.	00 03 2
To Bradley Carpenter his Bill	01 08 4

APPENDIX III

379

To Thomas Harroll his Bill for repairs at the Schoole and	}	28	1	4
Schoole House & building the Brick Wall where the				
Swan Stood and Carrying of the Bricks				
To Walker Smith his Bill		00	2	2
[i.e., they spent on building and repairs, £38, 15s. 6d.]				

4 May 1731.

Joseph Hodgkinson for attending the School since the death of Mr Holyoake	05	0	0
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3 Aug. 1731.

Joseph Hodgkinson for attending the School	10	0	0
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Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed ffeoffees of the free School of Rugby in the County of Warwick doe hereby elect nominate and appointe John Plomer Master of Arts to be Schoolmaster of Rugby free School aforesaid in the place of Mr Henry Holyoake deceased Provided the said Mr Plomer give Security by himselfe and other responsable persons in 500^u before the next quarters meeting of the ffeoffees for surrendering the said School at three moneths warning given to him by the the [sic] Major part of the ffeoffees and to observe such orders as the said ffeoffees or the Major part of them shall make from time to time and in Consideration that he was educated at the said School and for Severall years been Usher there and behaved himself so well We therefore dispense with the Order mentioned in the School Orders for takeing vpon him the Cure of souls and that he may be at liberty to take and hold one Ecclesiasticall benefice and no more he keeping a Curate constantly to officiate there to prevent his neglect of the School.

We order that a Catalogue be made of the Study of books which M^r Holyoake the late School Master gave by his will for the benefitt of Rugby School and that M^r Towers and M^r Plomer examine the same and that they Choose a fitt place for a Library to Sett up the same in and that they Call in all books that were lent out by Mr Holyoake.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed Trustees for the said Free Grammar School do elect nominate & appoint Thomas Crossfield Master of Arts to be Schoolmaster of the said School in the room of the above named John Plomer.

It is this day resolved that the surplus money (which for some years past hath been divided quarterly between the Master and Almsmen) be for the future reserved in the hands of the Steward as formerly it hath been & that it be applied as the Trustees from time to time

shall think proper for the repairs & improvement of the premises belonging to the School.

May 4, 1742.

I John Plomer Schoolmaster of the Free Grammar School of Lawrence Sherriff in Rugby in the County of Warwick do hereby surrender & resign the said School into the hands of the Trustees for the said School To which the said Trustees have consented & have accepted the same accordingly.

[Signed] John Plomer.

[Autograph.]

30 Sep. 1751.

I William Knail Clerk Schoolmaster of the free Grammar School of Lawrence Sherriff in Rugby in the County of Warwick do hereby surrender and resign the said School into the hands of the Trustees for the said School—to which the said Trustees have consented and have accepted the same accordingly.

William Knail.

In pursuance of an Adjournment made by us the sixth day of August last for the electing a Schoolmaster in the room of Mr. William Knail who has this day resigned We do elect nominate & appoint the Rev^d Joseph Richmond Master of Arts to be Schoolmaster in the room of the said Mr. Knail.

Aug. 5, 1755.

[Resignation of Joseph Richmond, with autograph.]

It is ordered that it be referred to S^r Tho^s Cave Bar^t to revise the orders for the better regulating the School and to examin the books & to make a Catalogue thereof.

We do also nominate and appoint the Rev^d Stanley Burrough Clerk Master of Arts to be Schoolmaster of the free Grammar School in Rugby in the room of the late Mr. Richmond.

Aug. 5, 1766.

The Incumbent of the parish Church of Rugby having consented to a Gallery being erected in the Chancel of the said Church for the use of the School pursuant to the plan produced It is ordered that application be made to the Patron of the said Church for his consent thereto And that on the Patron's testifying his consent the said Gallery be accordingly erected at the expense of the Trust for Rugby School And that the expense of new pewing the seats in the body of the said Church which shall be allotted to the Charity Estate be paid by the said Trust And that twenty one shillings a year be paid to the Incumbent for the time being (as agreed) for the space taken up by the said Gallery.

APPENDIX III

381

Aug. 4, 1767.

Paid Rich ^d Over a Carpenter's Bill—repairing the Roof of Rugby Chancel that the Gallery might be erected	5	7	7
Paid M ^r John Wagstaff erecting the Gallery according to his estimate	49	17	0

May 3, 1768.

Paid d ^o for turning two Arches over Graves in Rugby Church for supporting the Columns of the School Gallery	0	10	3
Paid James Wright a Mason's Bill for the School Chimney & Carriage	0	15	0

4 Aug. 1778.

[Stanley Burrough's resignation, signed.]

We the Major part of the Trustees of the said School do elect nominate and appoint the Reverend Thomas James Clerk Master of Arts to be Schoolmaster of the said School in the room of the said Stanley Burrough And We do order that so soon as the Trust Estate will answer it there be paid to the said Thomas James the annual sum of Fifty pounds over and above the annual sum of sixty three pounds six shillings and eight pence heretofore paid to the Master of the said School and that he shall enjoy the School Closes rent free from this time And that the rent thereof from Lady Day be given up to the two Masters. And we do also elect nominate and appoint the Reverend James Chartres an Usher in the said School And we do direct that there be paid to him out of the said Trust Estate the annual sum of Eighty pounds.

June 27, 1794.

The Reverend Doctor James having by Letter signified his intention of Resigning the place of Head Master of Rugby School on the 29th of September next ensuing the Trustees do accept the same, tho' with the greatest regret; and they should think themselves wanting in their duty if they did not take this opportunity of expressing their satisfaction in the Conduct of Dr. James, to whose abilities & attention they acknowledge the present flourishing state of the School to be owing.

A Letter from Dr. James containing the most important information relative to the management of the School, as well as the most undoubted proof of the strict attention he has given to all even the most minute affairs under his Charge, having been laid before the Trustees; They are of opinion that this valuable Collection should be

deposited among the Records of this Charity, for the inspection and instruction of all future Trustees.

Aug. 1, 1797.

The Trustees at the same time thought it right to declare to the Assistants that They have always considered the Appointment and the dismissal of any of the Assistants as virtually residing in the Head Master, whom they hold to be immediately responsible to Them for the General good Government of the School ; and they are decidedly of Opinion that it ought so to continue.

Sep. 10, 1827.

[Wooll resigns.]

Rugby Charity founded by Lawrence Sheriff.

At a special meeting of the Trustees of the said Charity held by adjournment this 10th day of December 1827 for the purpose of electing a Head Master they do appoint the Rev^d Thomas Arnold A.M. to be Schoolmaster of the said School from July next in the room of the Rev^d Dr Wooll who has resigned.

June 15, 1842.

The Head-mastership having become vacant by the death of Dr Arnold, the Trustees desire to express their sense of the great loss which the School has sustained in the death of a Master who has raised it's character to the highest pitch. Ordered that the School Chapel be hung with black on the day of Dr Arnold's funeral.

July 8, 1842.

[A. C. Tait elected.]

C. (d) BRIEF OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING THE
ENDOWMENT OF THE RUGBY SCHOOL CHARITY.

For the Respondent.

William Howkins }
and } Exceptants.
John Howkins }

Ed : Bromwich
in the place of
Ed : Harrison,
prosecutor,
deceased.

Respondent.

5 April 1653 Inquisition That by Inquisition, at Rugby, it appeared : That Lawrence Sheriffe deceased being seized in fee of the

Rectory of Brownsover, *and* a Messuage *cum pertinentibus* at Rugby Com. Warr. *and* of a close of pasture ground called Conduit Close in Grayes Inne ffeilds Com. Middx. containeing about 24 Acres

Dat. 22 July. 9 Eliz. By deed enrolled conveyed the said Rectory, *and* all other his Lands Com. Warr. to Geo. Harrison *and* Bernard field *and* their heirs who by another Deed (same date) declared the Trust *and* Intent thereof to the uses hereafter, vizt.,

That they *and* their heirs should speedily after Lawrences death (with the profits *and* such other moneys as Lawrence should by his will give for that purpose) Build near Lawrences Mansion house in Rugby a School house *And* an Almshouse for 4 poor Men *and* should repaire the Mansion house which being done, the Will *and* Intent of Lawrence was

That the said Trustees *and* their heirs should cause a discreet Learned man (being a Master of Arts) to be School Master there *And* the same after that to be a free Schoole for Ever, *and* to Serve Cheifly for the Children of Rugby *and* Brownsover *and* next for such as be of other places thereto adjoyneing *And* the School Master (if Conveniently it might) be for ever a Master of Arts *And*

That the School Master *and* his Successors should have the Mansion house to Live in Gratis, *and* his sallary to be 12^{li} per Ann. *and* the 4 Almesmen to have each 7d. per week besides their Lodgeings whereof 2 to be of Rugby *and* the other of Brownsover

And the said Mansion house Schoole *and* Almshouses, should be Repaired for ever out of the profits of the said bargained premisses *And* That John *and* Bridgett Howkins (Lawrences sister) should be Tennants to the said Rectory dureing their Lives, at 16^{li} 13^s 4^d per Ann. they keeping the premisses in repair *And* after their decease before any other some person being of their Issue *and* that should Inhabite in Rugby or Brownsover should be ffarmers of the said Rectory at the same rent *and* repairing the premisses ut supra *And*

That Lawrence, by a Codicill (20 Oct. 9 Eliz :) annexed to his will, bequeathed to the said Trustees *and* their heirs the 3d part of All his Lands in Middx upon the same Trust he had done the same Rectory *and* not otherwise *and* shortly after dyed *And* the said Trustees entered *and* became seized of the 3d part of Conduit Close in Trust ut supra, to them *and* their heirs. *And*

That the said 3^d part of Conduit Close descended to *and* become vested in Bernard Dakin who by Deed (Dat. 24 Nov. 42^l Eliz :) Conveyed the same to John Vincent *and* his heirs But Vincent before such

Conveyance had full *and* apparent notice of the said Trust yet nevertheless by vertue of the said Deed entered *and* tooke the proffitts to his owne use till the 1st of Sept. 44 Eliz: when he dyed leaving Rose his wife (to whom by will he devised the said 3^d part) *and* Philadelphia *and* Anne his Daughters *and* heirs And

That Rose entered *and* took the proffitts And the Reversion descended to the Daughters *and* Anne dyed without Issue The Moyety descended to Philadelphia her sister *and* heir

And it farther Appeared by the said Inquisition *and* otherwise

That by a decree in the Inquisition mentioned, for as much as Bernard Dakin Conveyed the said 3d part to Vincent And that Vincent had full notice of the Disposition thereof to Charitable uses The said 3d part by that Decree was vested in S^r Francis Leigh &c. *and* their heires in trust to the uses appointed by the ffounder And

That shortly after the Decree one Henry Clerke (4 May 13 Jac:) had a lease of the 3d part from the Trustees at 10^{li} per Annum rent *and* afterwards assigned his Interest to Rose Wood, who offering to Attorn Tennant to the Trustees *and* Release all farther Claime thereto other then what she had by the Lease It was by her *and* the School Master of Rugbys Consent Ordered by this Court That Rose should enjoy the Lease only *and* Convey her other Estate to the Trustees

And afterwards (17 June 7 Car.), by Agreement between Rose *and* the Succeeding School Master It was by Consent Ordered by this Court That Rose should hold out Clerk's Lease she paying 5^{li} per Annum Increase of Rent to the use of the School Master *and* Almesmen But it appeared not that there was ever any Conveyance made to the Trustees of the Lands in Brownsover or 3^d part of Conduit Close.

That the said Trustees (1 May 8 Car. 1st) demised the said 3^d part to one Pitts for 31 years at 20^{li} per Annum rent to Comence after Clerks Lease But no fyne was given And

That John Howkins by vertue of Mean Assignment hath for 11 years past *and* still doth receive the proffitts of Conduit Close under Clerks Lease *and* hath not durement that tyme paid any part of the 5^{li} increase of rent But for about 4 or 5 years together deducted severall sumes out of the said 10^{li} per Annum reserved on Clerks Lease for pretended damage sustained by Breast works at London drawn thro' the said Close *and* for Taxes out of the said Rent

That the Lease of Clerk is almost Expired *and* Pitts Lease for 31 years is Assigned over to one Blunt who holds the said 3^d part under John Howkins *and* payes him 25^{li} per Annum Rent *and* hath soe done for 11 years past

That Anthony Howkins being possessed of the Rectory of Browns-

over about the time of the Inclosure there by Deed of feoffment (*about* 41 years since. Dat. 7 Dec. 10 Jac.) Conveyed to Edward Broughton Esq. deceased and his heires All the Glebe Lands (save 4 peices of meadow) belonging to the Rectory And all Tythes within the Lordshipp of Brownsover at the rent of 28^u 17^s 6^d per Annum And Edward Boughton in consideration thereof by Deed of feoffment Conveyed to Anthony *and* his heires All those Lands Meadow and pasture Esteemed to be one yard land as then Measured Containeing about 32 Acres *and* an halfe And Anthony accordingly entered *and* enjoyed the same *and* received 28^u 17^s 6^d durement his Life And after his decease Elias Howkins entered *and* enjoyed the same for 13 years ending about 4 years since yet neither they nor Elias Ever had any Lease or Grant thereof from the 12 Trustees But have claimed the Inheritance And that there was onely the Rent of 16 : 13 : 4d. : to Issue thereout.

That Jane *and* Wm. Howkins upon Williams Marriage have made a Joynture to his wife of part of the Lands in Brownsover *and* Executed the Deed by Livery *and* Seizin *and* Wm : ever since hath been in possession by vertue of that Deed *and* Received the profitts which for above 30 years have been worth 56^u per Annum And are of far Greater value than before the Inclosure the Rectory being before not worth above 32^u 17^s 6^d per Annum And since the Rents *and* Lands granted in Lieu thereof are worth 56^u per Annum.

That Raphael Pierce being before Elected by the surviveing feoffees was Confirmed to be School Master of Rugby *and* taught there till his death (*about* May 1651) But Elias Jane *and* William Howkins paid not the 12^u per Annum Sallary But detained 11^u 17^s 5^d thereof for Taxes *and* quarters whereby he was much dampnified, *and* Wm : Howkins hath not paid him, his Relict nor the Succeeding School Master 3^u for a quarter's Sallary due at Midsummer 1651

That there is due *and* in Arrears to Mr. Whitehead the present School Master, *and* to the Almes Men out of Conduit Close 26^u 5^s

That Elias Howkins refused to pay Butler an Almesman put in by the Trustees his wages And did violently *and* of his own Accord displace him *and* kept his Lodging for 3 years *and* then put in another of his owne Choosing

That the Almes Mens Sallary for these 20 years have not been paid according to the founder's Intent But Elias Jane *and* Wm : have paid them more or less as they pleased

That the Mansion house Schoole *and* Almshouses are so ruined *that* (notwithstanding 4^u 7^s 6^d disbursed thereabout by the prosecutor a year agoe) they will take at least 63^u 10^s to be put in Repair

That for as much as the said Trustees save S^r Tho : Leigh are dead

and by reason thereof much neglect in performinge the Trust, to the prejudice of the Charitable use

Decree dated 16 May 1653.

Therefore it is Decreed that the Inheritance of the 3^d part of Conduit close *and* the Parsonage house lands *and* premisses in Brownsover be henceforth vested in Basil feilding Thomas Boughton Tho: Temple St John Cave Esqre. *and* others *and* their heirs To the uses *and* Trusts by the ffounder appointed *and* by the Inquisition annexed found *and* when any 3 Trustees dye the Survivors to Elect 3 more in their Stead And that John Howkins (who enjoyed Conduit Close) shall by Michaelmas next pay the present feoffees 73^{li} 15^s in respect of the Arrears of the 5th per Annum rent thereof *and* the same to be laid out by the feoffees as hereafter Expressed And for as much as Elias Jane *and* Wm: Howkins have enjoyed Brownsover as in their owne Right *and* have lately made a Joynture to Wms: Wife prout Inquisition ut Supra whereby the Charitable Gift if not timely prevented will be destroyed Decreed

That the said Wm *and* Mary his wife be forthwith outed of the possession thereof *and* that all Deeds *and* Conveyances thereof made by Jane Wm or Elias Howkins be void And that Jane who was Administratrix to Elias (if she have Assetts) shall by Michaelmas next pay 511^{li} 6^s 8^d for profitts received by Elias in his Lifetyme And she *and* Wm. by Michaelmas next pay the said feoffees 157^{li} 6^s 8^d in respect of the profitts of Brownsover by them received since Elias's death more then they or Elias have disbursed towards the Charitable use

And the Trustees to Meet *and* visit the Schoole *and* Almeshouses 4 tymes a year That is to say the 1st Tuesday in febr: the 1st Tuesday in May the 1st Tuesday in August *and* the 1st Tuesday in November *and* after they have received the said severall sumes they are to pay 59^{li} 17s 5d to Joan Relict of Pierce in Lieu of Arrears due to him during his tyme of being Schoole Master *and* to Mr. Whitehead (now School Master) *and* Almesmen 26^{li} 5s in Lieu of Arrears *and* to the Respondent for *and* towards his Charges *and* for his owne pains in Sueing out the Comission *and* obtaineing this Decree 110^{li} *and* the Remainder to goe in Repairs of the Mansion house Schoole *and* Almeshouses which is to be done with all speed *and* repay what hath been allready laid out in repairs *and* the remainder (if any) to be distributed according to the Trustees discretion.

And the Trustees in one of their Meetings the first year to Establish such Orders concerning the freedom of the School according to the

founders intent, *and* behavior of the School Master Schollars *and* Almesmen as shall be ever constantly kept unless they or the Major part shall find Cause to add or alter any thing

And the ffeoffees upon any vacancy of School Master or Almesmen to Nominate and Admit new ones observeing the ffounder's Rules if possible or otherwise according to their best understanding *and* the ffeoffees to let the Lands receive Rents *and* pay Sallaries.

That the Trustees are to doe nothing in discharge of their Trust privately but at their publick Meetings by all or the Major part of 12

And the lands not to be lett for any Terme Exceeding 7 years *and* no future Lease till within a year of expiration of the former nor under the greatest rent that can be gott *and* good Security to be given *and* the Rents paid quarterly

And some of the Issue of John Howkins *and* Bridgett his wife liveing in Rugby or Brownsover (if any such be) that will give good Security shall be accepted Tennants before any other at such rents as the ffeoffees shall think fitt And the ffeoffees to pay the School Master 3^{*rd*} *and* Almesmen 7s 7d quarterly *and* out of the Remainder to defray repairs *and* the overplus (necessary Charges of Meeting deducted which is not to Exceed 20s per Annum) to be divided proportionably among the School Master *and* Almesmen *and* dureing any vacancy the proportion of his pay to be added to the Remainder of the Rents to be divided

And if the Trustees find the Multitude of Schollars to be too Great for one Mans teaching they are either themselves to find or Enjoyne the School Master to provide an Usher *and* allow him such Sallary out of the overplus of Rents which would otherwise come to the Master as they think fitt

And the Trustees to provide a Chest with 4 Locks *and* keys *and* the Same not to be opened but at their meetings *and* all Records Determinations amongst themselves Counterparts of Leases &c. to be kept therein

And if there be no poor Men in Brownsover fit to be Almsmen then the Almshouses to be filled with those of Rugby But if there be in both then Rugby *and* Brownsover Joyntly to fill up the Almshouses according to the will of the ffounder.

20 Sept. 1653. Wm Howkins John Howkins *and* one Jane Howkins in the Decree mentioned did Exhibite diverse Exceptions to the said Decree To which the Respondent answered But *that* Case was never fully heard in any part untill the 19 July 1666 when the Lord Chancellor upon hearing the case as to the Warwickshire Lands wherein Wm Howkins was Concerned directed a case to be made *and* stated And If

the parties differed Then S^r Justinian Lewen one of the Masters of Chancery was to settle the same But as touching the exceptions of John Howkins *and* as to the Middx Lands over Ruled the Exceptions *and* Confirmed the Comissioners Decree And Decreed the said John Howkins to pay the Rents and profitts of the said Lands from Michaelmas next after the Decree for so long tyme as he enjoyed the same *and* to pay Costs All *which* were to be Certified by the said S^r Justinian Lewen

The Master states the Case only upon the Deeds whereby the Charity was first founded *which* are set forth in the Inquisition *and* leaves out all proofes of Misemployment : And thereupon makes 2 questions

1st. Whether the Exceptant ought to pay 16 : 13 : 4 Originall rent only or according to the Improved value.

2nd. Whether the Exceptant is bound to the Repair of all the *premisses* in Rugby *and* Brownsover or of the Buildings of the *premisses* in Brownsover only

To which Case the Exceptant took Exceptions for that the Master had not taken any notice of 2 Decrees formerly made the first 44 Eliz: *and* the other Jacobi whereupon the Respondent petitioned to have the proofes heard.

26 Nov 1667 The said Case upon the Exceptions *and* proofes standing in the paper to be heard by the Right Honble: S^r Orlando Bridgeman Kn *and* Bar Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England his Lordshipp declared that the Comissioners Decree which had vested the Rectory Mansion house *and* *premisses* in Rugby *and* Brownsover in the Trustees And alsoe enjoyned the Exceptant to the Repair of the whole to be Just for that the said Exceptant was not to have the *premisses* in Rugby *and* Brownsover as an Inheritance or as a farmer in succession *and* soe to perpetuity But as a farmer *and* Tennant onely *and* that he ought to repare the whole.

And disallowed the Exceptions *and* Confirmed the Decree of the said Comissioners yet nevertheless recomends it to the Trustees *and* feoffees to lett the said *premisses* at a reasonable rate to the Exceptant or some of his kindred Inhabiteing in Brownsover from tyme to tyme before any other.

And that Sergt Newdigate *and* 2 Knights of the Shire should nominate such feoffees as they should think fitt to supply the places of those that were dead And referred it to the said S^r Justinian Lewen to tax Moderate Costs against the Exceptant William Howkins And for as much as John Howkins had taken Exceptions to the Masters Report as to the Costs thereby taxed against him referred it back to the said Master either to add or diminish as he shall see Cause And what Costs are taxed to be paid to the feoffees or whome they

shall appoint To the end that so much as was Expended by the former prosecutor Edward Harrison deceased may be paid to his Executor or Administrator and what Costs are due to the now prosecutor Edmond Bromwich may be paid to him.

Examined by us

Rich Broc hurst
Henry Turner

(c) CERTIFIED COPIES OF APPOINTMENT

Vera copia—JO. NEWLAND, 25 Oct. 1661.

These are to certify all whom it may concern That I Thomas Lord Leigh Baron of Stoneleigh the surviving ffeoffee for the free Schoole of Rugby having received a Certificate from the Inhabitants of Rugby and Brounsover of the ability & learning of Mr John Allen wth their desires that I would nominate & appoint him to be Schoole master of the free Schoole of Rugby, I doe therefore hereby nominate and appoint the said Mr John Allen to be Schoolemaster of the free Schoole of Rugby In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand the thirteenth day of October in the twelfth yeare of *the Reigne of our* sovereign Lord King Charles & in *the* yeare of our Lord 1660.

(51.c) To all Christian People to whom these presents shall come I Thomas Lord Leigh Baron of Stoneley the alone surviving ffeoffee to & for the vse of the free Grammar Schoole & Almshouses in Rugby in the County of Warwick of the ffoundaⁿ of Mr Lawrence Sheriffe Cittizen & Grocer of London send greeting in our Lord God everlasting Know yee that I the said ffeoffee according to the trust residing in me, and so farre as the Lawes doe permitt for pietyes sake have named appointed & confirmed my welbeloved in Christ Peter Whitehead Schoolmaster of the said free schoole *which* was lately voyd first by the desertion & after by the death of Mr Raphaell Peirce the last Incumbent there To informe teach & instruct Children & others resorting vnto the said free schoole together with all & every the rights members and appurtenances thereof to him the said Peter Whitehead in as large & ample manner & forme as any Schoolmaster there hath had held & enjoyed or ought to have had held & enjoyed the same, hee behaving himselfe laudably in that respect In witnes whereof I have herevnto set my hand & seale the flowerth day of December in the yeare of our Lord God One thousand six hundred fifty one

T. LEIGH.

A true copy of the Originall
Examined the 20th day of february
1665 by ED. PALMER

THE FIRST LIBRARY.

May y ^e 4th 1731	John Francis.				
for 8 foot of board to nail up y ^e Study window	.	.	0	1	0
for work and nails	.	.	0	0	3
Sep ^r . 29 for 3 parts of a day removing y ^e books and putting					
up Shelves	.	.	0	1	0
for a lock for y ^e Study door	.	.	0	2	0
Nov. 1 st for 1 days work putting up Shelves for y ^e Books	.	.	0	1	11
for 18 foot of board for y ^e Shelves	.	.	0	2	7½
for nails	.	.	0	0	4½
			<hr/>		
			[sic]	0	8 7

(b) SUMMARY OF WILL OF ANTHONY HOWKINS.

Sep. 8. 1628. 'This will conteyning two sheets was settled & published as his last will the eighth day of September 1628 before us: Henry Carter, John Wells, John Howkins, I. H., John Harding.' Signed and Sealed by Anthony Howkins.

Summary. A. H. late of Brownsover, recites Edward Boughton's method (partly by threatening, partly by protestations of good intent) of obtaining A. H.'s signature to a blank paper, by which B. who was enclosing the manor of Br. took the tithes on payment of yearly rent of £28. 17. 6., though well worth £50. at least; and took the glebe in exchange for a piece of land much less, without any allowance of Common for Sheep, Bullocks, Colts, and Horses. Enjoins on his son John to rectify it. Legacies to his sons Thomas and William; if his son Elias dies without heirs males, and if the daughters of Elias, Alice, Sara, and Mary, are not married, each of them are to have £10 a year up to the age of 20 or until marriage. These legacies paid, all his lands in Brownsover, Newbold, and Rugby &c., go to his eldest son Elias, and to his heirs males by primogeniture; in default of heirs males, to the second son Thomas, to John the eldest son of Thomas, and his heirs in like manner; the Conduit Close is left to A.'s son John, according to a deed of feofment made to him upon good and valuable considerations, for that he redeemed the same from John Harborne and paid other sums of money for him, and had paid the yearly rent of £10 up to the present time. Personal property left to Elias (cows, horses, carts, & movables). To the almsmen of Brownsover 1st a year. All else to his son Thomas, who is made sole executor.

JOHN HOWKINS (*Reeve*, fol. 126).

Proved Nov. 6. 1678. Of South Mims, Middlesex. Leaves landed property in Hadley, Brownsover, Middlesex, and the Strand. Describes the founding of five almshouses by him founded in South Mims. Dying injunction to his Cousin William Howkins to take counsel's opinion about his rights in Brownsover parsonage.

DRAFT OF MRS. PEARCE'S PETITION.

(*Trust papers*, No. 72.)

[Abbreviations or restorations in square brackets.]

TO THE RIGHT HON^{ble} THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE CUSTODY
OF THE GREAT SEALE OF ENGLAND.

Humbly complaining sheweth unto your Honors your dayly Orators Jone Pearce the Relict & Administratrix of the Goods & Chattells Rights & Creditts of Raphael Pearce deceased, late Schoole Master of the free Schoole of Laurence Sheriffe of London Grocer situate & being in Rugby in the County of Warrwick, or the late Schoole M^r of Laurence Sheriffe of London Grocer, Henry Dixon Thomas Joyner George Butler & Nicholas Wright the ffour present Almesmen of the said Laurence Sheriffe of London Grocer in Rugby aforesaid, Thomas Harper Mercer Edward Harrison Gent W^m Tillman Gent Richard Elborowe Poulterer W^m Holden Mercer Edward How Baker & John Ayres yeoman, Inhabitants of the said Town of Rugby in the said County of Warrwick, That the aforesaid Laurence Sheriffe late of London Grocer deceased was in his life time lawfully seised in his demesne as of fee of & in the Rectory or Parsonage of Brownsover in the said County of Warrwick with all the Rights members & appurtenances of the same, And of & in certaine Messuages lands tenements & hereditaments with th'appurtenances scituate lying & being in Rugby aforesaid in the said County of Warrwick. [After reciting the Indenture between L. S. and Field and Harrison, and the Will, Codicil, and Intent of Laurence Sheriffe, the deaths of Harrison and Field, the inheritance of the property by Elizabeth Field, her marriage with John Dakyn, and Barnard Dakyn's inheriting of it, the indenture between him and John Vincent:] By vertue whereof the said John Vincent was thereof seised in his demesne as of fee, And being thereof so seised he the said John Vincent did make his last Will & Testament in Writing bearing Date the Three & Twentieth day of July in the

ffoure & forteith yeare of the Raigne of the said late Queene Elisabeth over England &c. & by his said last Will (amongst other things) did giue & bequeathe all his Lands & Tenements unto Rose Vincent his then Wife for & during the terme of her naturall life, as by his said last Will may more at large appeare, & shortly after departed this life hauing issue Philadelphia & Anne his two Daughters & Coheirs being then infants of young & tender age, By reason whereof the said Rose Vincent was seised of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close with th'appurtenances in her demesne as of franktenement, the Reuersion thereof to the said Philadelphia and Anne Vincent & their heires & assignes. And after the said Rose Vincent the Relict of the said John Vincent tooke to husband one Roger Wood gent, who also not many yeares after departed this life. And also the said Anne Vincent dyed without issue, By reason whereof her moitie of the said Reuersion in fee of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close descended & came to the said Philadelphia Vincent as Sister & heire of the said Anne Vincent, & then the said Philadelphia Vincent was seised of the whole Reuersion in fee of the said Third part, of the said Close called Conduite Close expectant upon the death of the said Rose Wood her mother. And your Orators further shew unto your Lordships That shortly after the making of a certaine Statute at the Parliament begun & holden at Westminster [Oct. 27, 43 Eliz.] now commonly called the Statute for Charitable Vses, There issued out of this Honourable Court a Commission under the Great Seale of England upon & by vertue of the said Statute, bearing Date [Mar. 11, 44 Eliz.] unto Zachary Babington Doctor of Law & then Chancellor to the then Bishopp of the Diocesse of Coventrie & Litchfield, William feilding, William Combes, Edward Stapleton Esquires, Roger Barber & Daniell Nayler Masters of Art & Preachers of the Word & others directed. Before whom by vertue of the said Commission there was taken at Rugby aforesaid in the said County of Warrwick [Sep. 30, 44 Eliz.] an Inquisition by & upon the Oathes of William Dilkes of Clifton gent. James Willington of Brownesover gent; John Towers of Thurlaston gent & others, good & lawfull men of the said County of Warrwick, In which said Inquisition there was found (amongst other things) the aforesaid Gift & Bequest of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close with th'appurtenances made by said Laurence Sheriffe unto the said George Harrison & Barnard feild & their heires, To the Vses, Trust & Confidence before mentioned & expressed, And also the aforesaid Bargaine & Sale of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close with th'appurtenances made by the aforesaid Barnard

Dakyn by the said Deed indented & inrolled bearing Date the aforesaid [Nov. 24, 42 Eliz.] unto the aforesaid John Vincent & his heires & assignes for ever. And also that the said John Vincent before & at the time of his said bargaine & agreement for the purpose thereof had notice & knowledge of the Trust & Confidence aforesaid, concerning the same, & was then deceased leauing issue the aforesaid Philadelphia & Anne his two Daughters & heires. And further it was found that albeit that long before the said Sale made to the said John Vincent, the aforesaid Barnard feild by his Deed bearing Date [Apr. 20, 23 Eliz.] did demise the said Third part of the said Close unto one Robert Carre for the Terme of Eight & ffortye yeares from the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary then next ensuing for the yearly Rent of Eight pounds, yet neuertheles the said Third part of the said Close was then worth Twentye Pounds by the yeare at the least. Whereupon, & by vertue of the said Commission & Inquisition, it was Ordered & Decreed the said [Sep. 30, 44 Eliz. by the said Commission] (amongst other things) That the heires of the said John Vincent should not at any time thereafter haue challenge or claime any estate right title or interest of in or to the said Third part of the said Close; And that the estate & inheritance thereof so purchased by the said John Vincent as aforesaid should from thenceforth be & be vested & settled in Sir Henry Goodyeare of Polesworth in the said County of Warwick Knight, John Harrington Sonne & heire apparant of Sir John Harrington of Combe in the said County of Warwick Knight John Leigh Esquire Sonne & heire apparant of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneley in the said County of Warrwick Knight francis Leigh Esquire Sonne & heire apparant of Sir William Leigh of Newnham Regis in the said County of Warrwick Knight Basill feildinge Esquire Sonne & heire apparant of William feildinge Esquire of Newneham in the said County of Warrwick Richard Boughton of Lawford Esquire William Dixwell of Coton in the said County of Warrwick Esquire John Shukburgh of Shukburgh alias Shukborough in the said County of Warrwick Esquire Thomas Wright of Hoppisford in the said County of Warrwick Esquire Michael feildinge of Barnacle in said County of Warrwick gent Richard Neale of Rugby aforesaid Gent & James Willington of Brownesover aforesaid Gent & in their heires & assignes to the intent the same & the Rents revenues issues and proffitts thereof might be employed according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe in the said Inquisition appearinge & as in that their Order was thereafter set downe, that is to say, That there should be yearly from thence forth for ever paid thereof unto the Schoole Master of the said Schoole in Rugby for the time being the Summ of foure pounds by the yeare at

the feast of the Annunciation & of St. Michaell the Archangel by even portions, & so much more thereof unto the said foure poore Almesmen as would fully satisfy & pay them weekly according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe the full Summ of Seauen pence a weeke with the fiue pence a weeke which they did then weekly receive of the rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings and foure pence out of the said Parsonage of Brownesover, & the residue of the rents revenues issues & proffits of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close they did order should be paid to the feoffees or the more part of them for the time being respectively to be employed by them in the providing of convenient Lodgings or Houses for the said Almesmen according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe appearing in the said Inquisition until such provision should be made, & afterwards that the same should be employed in the further Augmentation of the Salarie of the Schoole Master & of the further maintenance & allowance of the said foure poore Almesmen for ever & the repaireing of the dwelling house Schoolehouse & Almeshouses according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe at & by the discretion of the more part of the said Twelve Persons. And moreover Ordered for the better securitie of the due payment of the said yearly Rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene and foure pence out of the said Parsonage of Brownesover for ever thereafter That in as much as the said Barnard Dakyn had as well by Sale of the said Third part, as by sundry offers to sell the said Parsonage broken the Trust aforesaid, therefore neither he nor his heires should at any time thereafter haue claime or challenge any estate right title or interest of in or to the aforesaid Parsonage of Brownesover or any part thereof, or of in or to the aforesaid Messuage Schoolehouse or any of the Lands Tenements or Hereditaments in Brownesover & Rugby aforesaid limited in Trust by the said Laurence Sheriffe as appeared by the Inquisition But that the estate of freehold & the Inheritance thereof which descended unto the said Barnard Dakyn from the said Elizabeth his Mother or unto the said Elizabeth from the said Barnard feild her ffather should be & be vested settled deemed & adjudged in the aforesaid Twelue Persons & their heires & assigns only to & for such intents & purposes as the same were meant & intended to be conveyed & assured by the said Laurence Sheriffe appearing in the said Inquisition And whensoever at any time three of the said Twelue Persons should be dead they ordered that from time to time within Six Moneths after the Death of any three of the said Twelue Persons that the said premises in Rugby & Brownesover aforesaid should be conveyed to the use of the Survivours of them and of three other persons to be nominated by the said Survivours or the most

part of them & to the use of the Survivours & of the said three other persons to the intent & trust meant by the said Laurence Sheriffe & appearing in the said Inquisition. And further ordered that the said Barnard Dakyn or such other as then had in custody the aforesaid Deed of Declaration of the Intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe mentioned in the said Inquisition or any other Deeds Evidences concerning only the said premises in Rugby & Brownesover aforesaid should within Six moneths after notice of that their Order & after request therefore made deliver the same unto such persons as should so require the same by the appointment of the said Twelue Persons or the more part of them to be safely kept in some Chest to be kept & placed in some such convenient place in Rugby aforesaid as the said Twelue Persons or the more part of them for the time being in their discretion should think fit. And also Ordered that Mr. Nicholas Greenehill the then Schoole Master of the said Schoole should be & continue Schoolemaster of the said Schoole for & during his life to teach Schollars & dwell in the said House in Rugby aforesaid & receive such Salarie as he ought to haue & doe by the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe & of that their Order, And that the persons which then were Almesmen should also so continue during their liues if the said Twelue persons or the more part of them in their discretion should finde noe cause to the contrarye. And lastly they Ordered by the assent of the said Schoolemaster, That the said foure poore Almesmen should dwell in the Houses & lodgings as then they did till such time as other houses & lodgings should be builded or provided for them according to that their Order, & after that then the Schoolemaster for the time being to have the same House wholly, & untill new & convenient provision of houses should be made for the said foure Almesmen according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe the same foure Almesmen not to be put out of the said houses then used as Almeshouses in no wise. And that the said Twelue persons or the most part of them for the time being should haue at all times thereafter the nomination placeing & displacing upon cause given of the Schoole Master & also the placeing & displacing of the said foure poore Almesmen according to the minde of the said Laurence Sheriffe. And that the said Schoole Master & Almesmen should as his will was continue their names to be called The Schoole Master & Almesmen of the said Laurence Sheriffe howsoever or by what meanes soever provision should be made for the habitations of or for the said Almesmen other where then, then they were, or for the augmentation of the Salarie of the said Schoolemaster or the allowance of the said Almesmen of any further maintenance over & above the aforesaid Seauen pence a weeke, As by the said Commission, Inquisition, & the said

Order & Decree remaining of Record in this honourable Court may more at large appeare. And your Orators further shew, That shortly after the said Suite by the death of the said Mr Nicholas Greenehill the then Schoole Master of the said Schoole, who presented the same, lay for a long time neglected, that is to say, untill about [10 Jac.] About which time one Mr Augustine Rolfe the then present Schoole-Master of the said Schoole sued forth of this Court A Writt de executione Ordinis against the said Barnard Dakyn, Rose Wood, Philadelphia Vincent & Anne Vincent bearing date [Feb. 17, 10 Jac.] to put the aforesaid Order & Decree made by the said Doctor Babington & others in execution. Whereupon the said Rose Wood & Philadelphia Vincent (the said Anne Vincent being then dead) put in their Exceptions to the said Order & Decree Vpon consideration whereof & hearing of Councell as well for maintenance of the said Decree as of the said Exceptions [May 11, 12 Jac.] before Thomas Lord Ellesmere then Lord Chancellor of England, forasmuch as it then appeared that the said Rose Wood & the said Philadelphia Vincent her Daughter heire of the said John Vincent were parties interested in the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close, that is to say, the said Rose for her life, & the said Philadelphia her Daughter for the Reuersion in fee, And yet neither the said Rose Wood nor her said Daughter by her Guardian being then an Infant, nor either of them were called or had notice giuen to them of the said Inquisition whereupon the said Decree was grounded nor had their lawfull challenges to the Jurors at the taking of the said Inquisition, It was therefore the same day Ordered declared & adjudged by his said Lordshipp That the said Inquisition & Decree so taken were for the said causes erroneous & voide in Law as to & concerning the said Lands. And yet neuertheles his said Lordshipp intending to maintaine the Charitable Vse in the said Order & Decree mentioned so farr as by justice the same ought to be maintained, did further Order that a new Commission should be awarded to the then Right reverend ffather in God John Lord Bishopp of London, within whose diocesse the said Lands did lye, & to Thomas Edwards Doctor of Law, then Chancellor to the said Bishopp & to Sir Henry Mountague Knight then his said Majesties Serjeant at Law, Sir Henry Yelverton Knight then his said Majestie's Sollicitor Generall, Nicholas fuller, & Henry finch Esquire, authorizing them or any fve foure or three of them to enquire of the said Charitable Vse according to the Statute aforesaid, As by the said Order (amongst other things therein contained) may more at large appeare. Whereupon there issued out of this honourable Court another Commission under the great Seale of England upon & by vertue of the said Statute for Charitable Vses

bearing Date at Westminster [July 4, 12 Jac. to the persons aforesaid] directed. Before five of whom, that is to say, the said John Lord Bishopp of London Sir Henry Mountague Henry finch Sir Henry Yelverton & Thomas Edwards by vertue of the said Commission (they having called before them the said Rose Wood & Philadelphia Vincent) there was taken at Hixhall in the said County of Middlesex [Aug. 9, 12 Jac.] an Inquisition by & upon the Oathes of good & lawfull men of the same Countie. In which the said Inquisition there was also found (amongst other things) the aforesaid Gift and Bequest of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close with th'appurtenances made by the said Laurence Sheriffe unto the said George Harrison and Barnard field & their heires to the aforesaid Vses Trust & Confidence, And also the aforesaid Bargain & Sale of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close with th'appurtenances made by the said Barnard Dakyn by the aforesaid deed indented & inrolled [Nov. 4, 42 Eliz.] unto the said John Vincent & his heires & assignes for ever. And also that the said John Vincent before & at the time of his said Bargaine & Agreement for the purchase thereof had notice & knowledge of the Trust and Confidence aforesaid concerning the same. And further it was found, That at the time when the said John Vincent did purchase the same of the said Barnard Dakyn, it was of the cleare yearly value of Twenty pounds, & that at the time of the takeing of the said last mentioned Inquisition it was of the cleare yearly value of Twenty & Six pounds of lawfull money of England. Whereupon, & by vertue of the said Commission & Inquisition It was Ordered & Decreed by the said Commissioners [Oct. 3, 12 Jac.] That neither the said Barnard Dakyn nor his heires nor the said Philadelphia Vincent the Daughter & one of the Coheires of the said John Vincent deceased & Sister & heire to the said Anne Vincent deceased one other of the Daughters and Coheires of the said John Vincent nor the wife or wiues of the said Barnard Dakyn & John Vincent or either of them for & in respect of any Joynture to the said such wife or wiues by their said husbands respectiue made after marriage should be at any time thereafter enabled to haue occupye enjoy claime & demand any estate right title or interest of in or to the said Third part of the said Close, But that they & euery of them & all person & persons claiming by from or under them or any of them should be of all right title interest claime and demand of in & to the said Third part of the said Close utterly forbarred & excluded for ever. And to the intent that the issues & proffitts of the said Third part of the said Close might be for ever thereafter employed to & for the aforesaid Charitable Vses & purposes, They did therefore Order adjudge & decree that the immediate estate of

freehold & Inheritance of & in the said Third part of the said Close should be thereby vested settled & taken & adjudged to be vested & settled in Sir Henry Goodyear of Polesworth in the said County of Warwick Knight Thomas Leigh of Stonely in the said County of Warwick Esquire, Sir Francis Leigh of Kings Newnham in the said County Knight, Basill Feilding Esquire William Dixwell of Coton Esquire John Shukburgh of Shukburgh Esquire Roger Feilding of Barnacle Esquire Richard Neale of Rugby Esquire Sir Clement Throckmorton of Hasels Knight Sir Thomas Lucy Knight & Sir Richard Varney Knight & in their heires And that the said Twelve persons & their heires should stand & be seised in fee simple of & in the said Third part of the said Close to the Uses & Trust so by the said Laurence Sheriffe appointed & in the said Inquisition found, And that they & their heires out of the issues & proffits of the said Third part of the said Close from thenceforth to be had perceiued taken & raised should pay & satisfye to the Schoole Master of the said free Schoole of Rugby aforesaid for the time being the yearly Summ of Twelve pounds Ten Shillings & Eight pence at the feast of All Saints, & Philipp & Jacob the Apostles, by equall portions And to euery the said foure poore Allmesmen for the time being each of them foure pence current money every weeke in respect that the said Third part of the said Close was improved in yearly proffitt & value to a greater yearly value then it was to be letten at the time of the said devise of the said Laurence Sheriffe so made of the said Third part of the said Close as aforesaid. And they did further Order¹ & decree That the executors or administrators of the goods & chattells of the said late deceased John Vincent, hauing assets in Law or equitie in their hands, should within Six Moneths next after demand made by the said Twelve Persons before in that their Order & decree named or any of them or any authorized from them or their heires paye & satisfye to the said Twelve persons so formerly named or to some of them or their heires or assignes the Summ of Thirty & ffue Pounds & Ten Shillings of Currant English money in respect of the issues & proffits of the said premises so found to haue been taken by him to the said John Vincent by colour of his said purpose from the said [Nov. 24 42 Eliz. to Sep. 1, 44 Eliz.] (being the time of his decease) which said premises were by the said Inquisition found to haue beene of the yearly value of Twenty pounds during the said John Vincents such taking the said proffits thereof. And they did further Order & Decree That the said Rose Wood the Relict of the said John Vincent

¹ But see the Order made 4 May, 18 Jac. Regis.—Note in original.

should for such time as happened from the said first Day of September whereon the said John Vincent dyed to the time of her intermarriage with the said Roger Wood in the said Inquisition named, & the executors or administrators of the goods & chattells of the said Roger Wood, having assetts in Law or equitie, for such time as happened from his intermarriage with the said Rose to the time of his decease, & the said Rose for such time as happened from the said Roger Woods decease to the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary then last past, should severally & respectuely pay & satisfye unto the said Twelue persons or some of them or to their heires or assignes in lieu & recompence of the issues & proffitts of the said Third part of the said Close found to have beene by the said Rose & Roger for & during the said seuerall times respectuely receiued & taken, such summe & summs of money after the rate & proportion of Twenty pounds for one whole yeare for the yearely value of the said premises as should be by Commission or other Order or direction of the right honourable the Lord Chancellor of England for the time being (to be made in that behalfe) rated assessed & taxed upon the said person & persons for & during their said seuerall perception & taking of the said proffitts; And that such Summe & Summs so rated assessed & set downe in certaintie should be by the said Rose for the time aforesaid of her taking of the said proffitts both before her such marriage with the said Roger Wood as since his decease & by the said executors or administrators during the said Roger Woods life after his marriage with the said Rose, satisfied & paid to the said Twelue Persons or some of them their heires or assignes within Six moneths after demand made thereof, Provided that if any issues or proffitts of the premises had beene taken or had by the said time or times by or on the behalfe of the said Schoole & poore by vertue of any Order or Writ de executione Ordinis by his said Lordshipp theretofore granted, Then so much pro rata should be decouped & defalked out of the said Summe so to be rated assessed & taxed. And touching the issues & proffitts of the said premises from the said feast of the Annunciation to the day of the making of the said Order & Decree, The said Commissions did leave the said Schoole & poore to take the benefitt of his Lordshippes further Order therein ffor performance whereof the said Rose had lately entered into Securitie in the said Court. And the said Commissioners did further order That out of the said Summe & Summs of money so to be paid & satisfied for the meane proffitts of the premises to the said Twelue persons their heires or assignes, that they their heires and assignes should thereout satisfye & pay to the then present SchooleMaster M^r Augustine Rolfe the Summe of Twenty & Two pounds Thirteene

Shillings & foure pence by him expended & laid out in the prosecution of the said Commission & Suite about the said Decree, & that the residue of the meane profitts in arreare & unpaid should be & remaine to the said Schoole Master for his Salarie & Wages in Arreare as aforesaid. And that the Schoole Master for the time being should thereafter be at the Costs & Charges of reparations of the said Schoolehouse & Dwellings & Lodgings for the said Schoole Master & Almesmen according to the good discretions of the feoffees. And they did also Order & Decree That whensoever any Three of the said Twelue persons should decease, that then the Survivours or the greater part of them should within Six moneths ensuing, & notice thereof to them giuen by the Schoole Master for the time being, not only nominate & choose Three other persons to make up the said number of Twelue, but should convey to the use of themselves & of the said three other persons & their heires the said Third part of the said Close to the intent & Trust meant by the said Laurence Sheriffe & appearing in the said Inquisition. And lastly that within convenient time there should be partition made of the said Conduite Close, & that the said Third part then decreed should be parted & set out from the said Two other parts, to the end the same might be knowne to be the said Schoole & Almeshouse Land for ever thereafter. As by the said last mentioned Commission & Inquisition & the said Order & Decree thereupon may more at large appeare. And your Orators further shew unto your Honours, That shortly after the making of the said last recited Decree, Albeit the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close was found by the said last mentioned Inquisition to be then worth Six & Twenty pounds by the yeare to be letten, as may appeare by the said Inquisition, yet notwithstanding did one Henry Clerke then of Whitechappell in the said County of Middlesex gent (who had sollicitated the said suite) procure the aforesaid Twelue persons named in the said last recited Order & decree, by their Indenture of Lease bearing Date the Twentieth day of December in the said Twelueth yeare of the Raigne of his said late Majestie King James over England &c. to demise unto him the said Henry Clerke his executors administrators & assignes the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close for the Terme of ffortie yeares to commence from the feast day of S^t Thomas th' apostle next ensuing the date thereof, vnder the yearly Rent of Ten pounds only & noe more, payable at the feast of th' annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of St. John Baptist, St. Michael th' archangel & St. Thomas th' apostle by euen portions. Which said Estate & Terme for yeares of & in the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close the said Henry Clerke by his Indenture

of Assign[ment] bearing date [May 3, 13 Jac.] did grant & assigne over unto the aforesaid Rose Wood her executors administrators & assignes for & during all the residue of the Terme of fortie yeares then to come & unexpired, as by the said Indentures may more at large appeare. And your Orators further shew, That afterwards the said M^r Augustine Rolfe Schoole Master of the said Schoole departed this life & one of M^r Wilgent Greene succeeded him in the same place. Vpon whose complaint in this Honourable Court on the behalfe of himselfe & the 4 Almesmen there That the aforesaid Twelue persons last before named had demised the said Third part of the said Close to the said Henry Clerke at x^s per annum for fortie yeares who afterward assigned the said Lease to the said Rose Wood contrary to the said last mentioned decree, the said Third part being of a greater yearly value, as by the said decree appeared, & that neither the said Philadelphia Vincent in the said decree named & since deceased nor her heires had made any Conveyance of the said Third part of the said Close to the said feoffees & their heires, neither was the same sett forth or divided from the other two parts according to the said decree. There was afterwards, to wit, [June 27, 7 Jac.] (upon some private agreement betweene the said M^r Wilgent Greene the then Schoolemaster of the said Schoole & the said Rose Wood, as your Orators verily belieue) an Order drawne up in this Court by & with the consent of both parties, That the heires of the said John Vincent & of the said Philadelphia Vincent & all persons claiming under him or her or any of them should with the free consent of the said Rose Wood upon request to the said heires or any of them made at the charge of the said Schoole Master & feoffees sufficiently assure & convey the said Third part of the said Close to the said surviuing feoffees, & to Francis Ashley of Hillmorton in the County of Warrwick Esquire, Thomas Boughton of Bilton in the said County of Warrwick Esquire, Thomas Cave of Stamford in the County of Northampton Esquire, William Burneby of Rugby aforesaid Esquire, & John Newdegate of Arbury in the said County of Warrwick Esquire then newly nominated, to their uses & to their heires for ever as in the said Decree is specified And that then the said Third part at the charges of the said Schoole Master should be parted & set forth according to the intent of the said Decree, And lastly that the said Rose Wood should be from thenceforth permitted quietly to enjoy the same during the residue of the said Terme then to come without any further suite or trouble, She the said Rose Wood her executors & assignes rendring allowing & paying unto the said feoffees to the use of the SchooleMaster & Almesmen the yearly rent or increase of fivue pounds over & above the said yearly

Rent of Ten pounds by the said Lease reserved, as by the said Order may more at large appeare. Which said Order, nor any other Order, drawne up with the consent of the then Schoole Master neither the aforesaid Lease of the Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close made at first to the said Henry Clerke & after by him assigned over to the said Rose Wood, nor any other such like Lease thereof made for so long a Terme, & at such an undervalue, either with or without the consent of the present Schoole Master, ought not to be, as your Orators humble conceive, in any wise prejudiciall to any succeeding Schoole Master & Almesmen, but that every Schoole Master for the time being, & the foure Almesmen for the time being, ought to have the whole benefit issues & profits of the said Third part of the said Close, or the greatest Rent that would be given for the same. But now so it is may it please your Lordships That noe Conveyance or Assurance in the Law hath yet beene made by the right heires of the said Barnard Dakyn to the said Twelve Persons nominated in the said first recited Decree & their heires of the said Parsonage of Brownesover & of the said Messuages lands & tenements in Rugby & Brownesover aforesaid or any part thereof, Neither hath any Conveyance or Assurance in the Law beene yet made of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close or any part thereof by the right heires of the said John Vincent unto the said Twelve Persons nominated in the said last recited decree to be feoffees thereof, & their heires, nor yet to the said Survivours of the said Twelve Persons & the said other Persons added to their number in & by the said last recited Order made in this honourable Court, & their heires, nor to any of them, Neither hath the said Third part of the said Close beene set forth & divided by metes & bounds from the other Two parts of the said Close. But (as your Orators are informed) for want of such a Conveyance & Assurance, notwithstanding the said former Decree made by the aforesaid Commissioners respectiue that the said premises should be vested & settled in the said Persons nominated to be feoffees, & their heires, the said respectiue Estates did still remaine & continue where they were before. ["Here derive the descent."] And your Orators further shew, That though noe such Conveyance of assurance hath been made as aforesaid, yet as the said Twelve Persons nominated in & by the said last recited decree to be feoffees of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close, upon misinformation as your Orators suppose of the true value thereof did make the aforesaid Lease for fortie yeares reserving only Ten pounds per annum, when by the said last Inquisition it was found to be worth Six & Twenty pounds per annum, Soe the said Survivours of the said Twelve Persons mentioned in the said last recited Order of

this Court & the said other Persons therin & thereby added unto them or the greater part of them, did shortly after the making of the said Order upon the like misinformation, as your Orators suppose, by their Indenture bearing Date [May 1, 8 Car.] demise the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close to one John Pytt then of the parish of Clerkenwell in the said County of Middlesex gent his executors administrators & assignes for the terme of One & Thirtie yeares, To commence from the expiration or other determination of the said Lease for fortie yeares, Reseruing only Twenty pounds *per annum* payable at the feast of St. Michael th'archangell & the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary by euen & equall portions, as by the said Lease if your Orators had the same to produce might more at large appeare. When as in truth the said Third part of the said Close was then worth as much more by the yeare that is to say, worth fortie pounds by the yeare or thereabouts, & still continueth of the same value, & then might & now may be letten for so much. And moreover so it is may it please your Honours That the said M^r Wilgent Greene departing this life, the aforesaid M^r Raphael Pearce [17 Car., month not stated] was elected Schoole Master of the said Schoole, who for his singular Learning & Industry was exceeding fitt for the said Place, & deserued much more than his share of the said Rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings & foure pence & of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close did amount to; but his great meritt & paines taking notwithstanding one

Howkins of Brownsover aforesaid Widow that hath beene for many yeares together by her Selfe or her undertenants possessed of the said Parsonage of Brownsover did euer since the beginning of these unhappy Warres to the time of his death denye to pay unto him the said Raphael & the said foure Almesmen the said yearly Rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings & foure pence, She the said

Howkins deducting a great part thereof for Taxes, Whereas the said Parsonage being much improved in yearly value over & aboue what it was the said Laurence Sheriffe did grant the same to & for the said Charitable Vses as aforesaid, . . . The Schoole-Master & Almesmen, as your Orators humbly concieue, ought to haue had, & for the time to come ought to haue either the said Rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings & foure pence free from all manner of Taxes whatsoever, & the said Taxes to be borne by the farmers & Tenants thereof out of the residue of the yearly value thereof over & aboue the said Rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings & foure pence, or els the Schoole Master & Almesmen to haue had & hereafter to haue yearly the whole benefitt issues & profits of the said Parsonage, And likewise one John Howkins of [Mims?] in

the County of [Middlesex?] gent & William Blunt of in the Countie of [Middlesex ?] gent that euer since the said Raphael Pearce was elected Schoole Master of the said Schoole, by themselves or their undertenants haue beene possessed of the said Third part of the said Close called the Conduite Close claiming the same under & by colour of the said Lease for fortie yeares so made as aforesaid, haue not only from the said time denyed to satisfye & pay unto the said Raphael Pearce & the said Almesmen such yearely Summe of money as the said Third part of the said Close was truly worth, as of right & according to the intent of the said Laurence Sheriffe they ought to haue done, but also haue refused to satisfye & pay unto the said Raphael Pearce & the said Almesmen the said yearely Summ of fifteene pounds mentioned in the said last recited Order of this Court, upon pretence that part of the Workes of the Citle of London in the time of the Warre was made upon part of the said Close, whereas the said Close containeth Ten acres or thereabouts, & not the quantitie of one acre thereof was spoyled by the said Workes. By reason of which said unjust dealings of the said John Howkins and William Blunt, & of the said Howkins Widow, with the said Raphael Pearce & the said Almesmen, the said Messuage Lodgings & Schoolehouse in Rugby aforesaid are for want of timely reparations become exceeding ruinous, & the said Raphael Pearce for want of the payment of what was due unto him as aforesaid, became in extreme want & exceeding poore, hauing nothing many times wherewith to provide Bread for himselfe his wife & children, which caused a wonderfull weaknesse in his body, which said weaknesse, for want of sufficient dyet, growing more & more upon him, it brought him at last to his much lamented death. Which happened in [1651, month not stated] To the great losse of your Orators & other Inhabitants of Rugby & Brownesover aforesaid & the Townes thereunto adjoyning, whose Children (that are to haue the privileged of the said Schoole) might otherwise to this day & for a long time haue there beene taught by so able honest & painfull a Schoole Master. He the said Raphael Pearce leauing behinde him your Oratrix [Joan] Pearce his Relict & ¹ Children, but nothing wherewith to maintain them, saue the hope of reconuring his said Arrearages, for which purpose your said Oratrix [Joan] Pearce (he the said Raphael dying intestate) hath sued forth *Letteres* of Administration of his goods & chattells rights & creditts. In tender consideration whereof, & for that your Orators haue noe remedie in the premisses but in this honourable Court before your Lordships, And to

1 "Set downe the number of his children."

the end that the said John Howkins & William Blunt & either of them may be compelled to set forth upon their corporall Oathes how long they or either of them haue been Tenants or Occupyers or possessors or haue taken the issues & profitts of the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close, & what Estate they or either of them claime in the same, & what is the true yearely value thereof, & what Summs of money they or either of them haue paid or caused to be paid to the said M^r Raphael Pearce & the said Almesmen since the time that he the said M^r Pearce became Schoole Master of the said Schoole, & when the said Summs were paid, And that the said John Howkins & William Blunt or such of them that hath had the rents issues or profitts of the said Third part of the said Close may be compelled to pay unto your Oratrix [Joan] Pearce all that is behinde for all the issues & profitts of the said Third part of the said Close according to the true value thereof, from the time that her said Husband became Schoole Master of the said Schoole till the day of his Death, it being the only maintainance which is left her for her selfe & Children, And to pay for all the issues & profitts thereof, according to the true value thereof from the Death of the said M^r Pearce for & towards the reparation of the said Messuage Lodgings & Schoolehouse in Rugby aforesaid, & for the benefitt of the succeeding Schoole Master & the said Almesmen, And to the end that the said John Pytt may be compelled to set forth upon his corporall Oath what Estate or future interest he claimeth of in or to the said Third part of the said Close, & that the said pretended Lease for fortye yeares thereof made at the first to the said Henry Clerke, & the said other pretended Lease for One & Thirty yeares thereof afterwards made to the said John Pytt to commence after the ending of the first Lease, at such undervalues, may both of them be made voide by this honourable Court, & that the said Third part of the said Close may be set out by metes & bounds, & be for euer hereafter sett & lett by such persons as shall be made feoffees thereof, for the greatest Rent that can be gotten for the same, & for noe longer Terme then Seauen yeares or thereabouts to commence at the making thereof, & that noe new Lease may be thereof made till within one yeare next before the expiration of the old Lease, & that euery Lease thereof may Covenant to put the said Third part of the said Close to noe other use then meadow or pasture, & not to digg therein for gravell or for making of Brick or Tyle, or to use the same any otherwise then as aforesaid, And to the end that the said Howkins may be compelled to set forth upon her corporall Oath what Estate she claimeth in the said Messuage Parsonage lands & Tenements in Brownesover aforesaid, & how long she hath bene Tenant Occupyer or possessor or hath by her selfe or others

taken the issues & proffitts thereof, & what is the true yearly value thereof, & what Summs of money she hath paid or caused to be paid unto the said Mr Raphael Pearce & the said Almesmen since the time that he the said Mr Pearce became Schoole Master of the said Schoole, & when the said Summs were paid, & how much of the said yearly Summ or rent of Sixteene pounds Thirteene Shillings & foure pence she hath since the beginning of the Warre deducted for the Taxes or for any other cause or colour whatsoever, & that the said

Howkins may be compelled to pay unto your said Oratrix [Joan] Pearce all that is in arreare of the said yearly Summ without any abatement for Taxes or any other thing whatsoever, the said Parsonage being so much improved in the yearly value thereof, over & above what it was when the said Laurence Sheriffe did grant the same as aforesaid, & to the intent that the said

heire of the said Barnard Dakyn may be compelled to convey & assure the said Parsonage of Brownesover & the said Messuages lands & tenements in Rugby & Brownesover aforesaid to the said Twelue Persons hereafter named & their heires [blank left for names] & that the said

heire of the said John Vincent may be compelled to convey & assure the said Third part of the said Close called Conduite Close to the said Twelue Persons last before mentioned & their heires & both Assurances to be for the Charitable uses intents & purposes aforesaid, & that upon the death of any three of them, the Survivours may be Ordered to convey the premises to the use of themselves & of Three others to be nominated by the said Survivours or the more part of them, & of their heires & assignes. And to the end that the said John Howkins, William Blunt,

Howkins, John Pytt,

heire of the said Barnard Dakyn, &

heire of the said John

Vincent may true & perfect answeres make to all & singular the said premises, May it please your Lordships, the premises considered, to grant unto your said Orators the Writ & Writts of Subpena of this Court to be directed unto the said [persons already named] thereby commanding them & every of them at a certaine day & under certaine paine therein to be comprised to be & personally to appear before your Lordships in this Court then & there to answer to the premises, & to stand to & abide such order & direction therein as to your Lordships shall be thought to stand with right, equitie, & good conscience. And your said Orators shall dayly pray &c.

INDEX

- ABORIGINAL** Eleven, 329
 'Absence' called, 136
 Act of 1748, 108; of 1777, 122;
 of 1868, 301
 Acting at Rugby, 189, 210-212,
 289
 Adams, F. O., 242
 Aganippe, 248
 Allen, John, appointed ninth Mas-
 ter, 78; his salary, 82; death,
 84
 Almshouses, the Founder's desire
 to build, 16; built, 50, 53; ad-
 joining second Schoolhouse,
 109; additional, 126
 Almsmen, original allowances, 24;
 how chosen, 27; live in the
 Schoolhouse, 27; their lodgings,
 32, 34; forcibly ejected, and
 others put in by the Howkins
 family, 62; attend prayers in
 school, 80; fined for breach of
 this order, 80; appear on Speech
 Day, 81, 99; allowances in
 eighteenth century, 95; under
 new constitution, 126
 Anniversary meeting of old Rug-
 beians, 207
Annus mirabilis, 285
 Apperley, Charles, 148, 151, 172.
 See Nimrod
 Appointments: John Allen and
 Peter Whitehead, 389
 Arithmetic master, 130
 Arnold, M., 241
 Arnold, Thomas, twenty-second
 Master, fourth Head-master, 220;
 his task, 223; his reforms, 224,
 230, 236; his wisdom and tact,
 223, 226, 228; his strength, 229;
 his motto, 230; becomes chap-
 lain, 231; preaching, 231; sys-
 tem of work, 232; fees under,
 235; relations with boys, 226;
 with masters, 236; generosity,
 237; limits number of boys,
 237; principle of purging, 221,
 237; death, 245
 Arnold, W. D., 241, 289
 Arnold-Foster, H. O., 310
 Arnold Library, 277
 Arrah, hero of, 282
 Art Museum, 306, 318. *See*
 Museum
 Ashbridge, Robert, appointed
 eleventh Master, 85; begins
 the Register, 85; builds a
 storey over the School, 86;
 resigns, 87
 Ash-planting, 169
 BAGOT, R., 173
 Balaclava charge, 282
 Barn Close, 198
 Barn School, 133
 Barnes, O., 283

- Bassevi, Palladio, 281
 Bath finished, 119
 Bath, Head-master's, 135
 Bathing, 119; shed erected by river, 135; Sleath's Hole, 136; Swifts, 248; Aganippe, 248
 Belows, 327
 Benn's bequest, 307
 Benson, E. W., 300
 Berkeley, J. M., 209
 'Big Fry and Little Fry,' 344
 Big Old School, 163
 Big School, 131; decorated with oak boughs, 142; Hakewill's, 202. *See also* School
 Big Side Bags, 335
 Big Side Books, 270, 335
 Big Side runs, 335
 Big Sides, modern, 323
 Birch, William, 153, 168
 Birch's boarding-house, 180, 188
 Black Tiger, nickname of Ingles, 177
 Bletsoe, Thomas, educated by Greene, and sent to Cambridge, 59
 Bloxam, M. H., 213, 217, 285
 Bloxam, Richard Rouse, 118, 153
 Bloxam's boarding-house, 180
 Boarders, 54, 60, 86, 90; whether lodged in masters' houses, 94; charges under Burrough, 118; dames' houses, 153; charges under James, 155; under Ingles, 179; under Wooll, 194; under Arnold, 235; food, 259, 293
 Bonfire on the Fifth, 250
 Bookseller, none in Rugby in 1746, 113
 Booth, A. H., 283
 Booth, C., 287
 (1) Boughton, Edward, 36; ejects Seale, 37; reasons for his interference, 38
 (2) Boughton, Edward, encloses common land of Brownsover, 54; intimidates Anthony Howkins and gets possession of glebe and tithes, 55
 Boughton, Sir William, puts in an almsman, 62; tried to put in a master, 74
 Bourne, A. A., 328
 Bowden-Smith, E., 328
 Bowden-Smith, Rev. P., 308
 Bowen, Lord, 286
 Boxing, 214
 Bradby, E. H., 241, 258, 290
 Bradley, Dean, 241
 Brassey, Lord, 286
 Bray, William, 112, 113
 Breaking up, 157, 260
 Breviate of 1653, 382
 Bridget, sister of Lawrence Sheriffe, 2, 17; farmer of Brownsover, 24; holds premises according to the special limitations, 26; death, 38
 Bright, J. F., 280, 290
 Brooks, M. J., 329
 Brownsover parsonage, legend that Sheriffe was born there, 1; purchase of, 11; how disposed of in will, 24; leased to Anthony and John Howkins, 26; Founder's intent regarding, 46; tithes and glebe alienated, 54; reparation demanded, 56; taken from William Howkins, 71; William Howkins's heirs to have it at a fair rent, 72; value in 1670, 84 *note*; in 1714, 95
 Buchanan, D., 283
 Bucknill's boarding-house, 180, 189
 'Buffets,' 216
 Bullock, W. H., 287

- Bullying, 181, 188
 Burges, S. W., 210
 Burrough, Stanley, eighteenth Master, 115; character, 128; resignation, 128
 Butcher, Thomas, 130
 Butler, A. G., 290, 300
 Butler, Samuel, 149, 171, 192
 Butler's leap, 281
 Byrne, J. R., 289
- CADETS' Trophy, 330
 Caldecott's, 306
 Calling-over, 203
 Carey, H., 172
 Carey, O., 242
 Carre, Robert, a friend of Harrison's, 40 *note*, 41 *note*; takes lease of Conduit Close, 40
 Carte, Thomas, 90
 Case, T., 328
 'Case's Gallows,' 328
 Castens, H. H., 328
 Cave, Ambrose, 86
 Cave, Edward, 91
 Cave, Sir Thomas, gets a Bill through Parliament for empowering Trustees to raise money for new schools, 108, 113
 Challenge Shield, Wimbledon, 330
 Chamberlain, Austen, 310
 Chapel, contract for, 204; description, 205; roof, 234, 284; windows, 234, 284; transepts added, 278, 284; alterations in, 284; altar-piece, 285; memorable services in, 245, 300; enlarged, 304; new windows, 304; latest enlargement, 308
 Chapel clerk, 134
 Chaplain, 134, 206
 Chartres, James, 130
 Choir, 206
- Christmas presents, instituted by James, 154; abolished by Ingles, 178
 Churchyard, boys play in, 110
 Cloughton, T. L., 209
 Clerk appointed, 79, 126
 Clerke, Edward, chosen to be sixth Master by householders of Rugby, 63; confirmed by Chancery, 63; a Rugby man, perhaps educated at the School, 64; his after career, 64 *note*
 Clerke, Henry, takes lease of Conduit Close, 56
 Clifton, A. B., 168
 'Clodding,' 216
 Close, the, plan of, in 1750, 197; made into a playground, 198; added to, 278, 285
 Clough, A. H., 240, 270
 Clowes, G. G., 282
 'Co,' 203
 Coaching, 191
 Cock House, 334
 Cock of the School, 214
 Cock, the, 249
 Cocktail Club, 273
 Combing-house, 163
 Commission, Public Schools, 301
 Commission, First, 44; Second, 51, 52; Third, 71; case finally settled, 72. *See also* Inquisition
 Conduit Close, purchase of, 10; how left by Founder's will, 19; original value, 23; Founder's intent as to, 46; and lease to Robert Carre, 40; value in 1602, 40, 50; inherited by Elizabeth Field, 40; by Barnard Dakyn, 40; conveyed to John Vincent, 40, 44; sale annulled, 49; redeemed from John Harborne, 57 *note*; treated by

- Anthony Howkins as his own, 56, 57 *note*; occupied by John Howkins, and left to him by Anthony, 57 *note*; leased to Henry Clerke, 56; rented at £15, 58; damaged in the Civil Wars, 67; leased and sublet by John Howkins, 70; rents in 1670, 84 *note*; building lease to Barbon, 88; partition, 88; lease to Milman, 95; rents in 1808, 196
- Conington, Prof., 240
- Constitution of School remodelled, 121, 301
- Cooper, B. B., 328
- Corporal punishment, 228
- Costume, football, 323; cricket, 327
- Cotton, W., 185, 187
- Cox, Sir G., 280
- Crealock, Major-Gen., 282
- Crick run, 271
- Cricket first mentioned at Rugby, 170; further, 262, 283, 287; present organisation, 326; Young Guard, 326; first professional, 327; 'distinctions,' 327; 'belows,' 327; costume, 327; exported to the Cape, 328; to Australasia, 329
- Cross, Lord, 242
- Crossfield, Mrs., matron to Mr. Knail, 105; has rooms in second Schoolhouse, 109
- Crossfield, Thomas, appointed fifteenth Master, 103; record, 103; character and reputation, 104; death, 105
- DAKYN, Barnard, inherits Conduit Close, 40; conveys it to John Vincent, 44, 47; refuses to pay Schoolmaster, 44; files bill in Chancery against Greenhill, 51; writ *de executione* against, 52
- Dakyns, C. S., 288, 324
- Dames' houses, 153, 156, 164, 180, 195; abolished by Arnold, 236
- Dancing, 136
- Davey, Sir H., 281
- Davies, Morris, 324
- Dawson, J., 287
- Debating Society, 246, 289, 313
- Declamations, 140
- Derby, Lord, 242
- Dining School, 163
- 'Distinctions' in football, 323; in cricket, 327
- Divine service on Sunday, School first united for, 116: held in School, 134
- Dodgson, C. L., 279
- Douglas, Archibald Stewart, 116
- Drawing, 137
- Drawing School, 307
- Dress, 158, 213
- Drinking, 273
- Durnford, Thomas, 93
- Dyke Acland, A. H., 310
- Dymoke, John, 118
- EDEN, Sir A., 281
- Ellis, Prof. R., 286
- Ellis, W. W., influence on the game of football, 218
- 'Ends,' 326
- Epidemic in School, 98
- Eranos, 316
- Evans, Charles, 300
- Eve, H. W., 286
- Examination before the Trustees, 142
- Examiners first employed, 178
- Expenses at Rugby under Holyoake, 95

- FAGGING**, 161, 169, 189, 252, 293, 301, 342; fags paid, 162
- Fencing**, 137
- Field, Barnard**, a Trustee, 20; apprenticed to the Founder, 22; mercantile dealings, 22, 23; embroiled with Sultan of Barbary, 22, and Philip of Spain, 23; the active Trustee, 28; associated with Edward Boughton, 37; a Papist, 37; his probable honesty, 39, 40, 45; death, 41
- Field, Edward**, 209
- Fifth of November**, 250
- Fighting at Rugby**, 167
- Fire-engine**, 127, 331
- Fires in studies**, 163; in schools, 163; in houses, 332
- Fishing**, 159, 250
- Football first mentioned**, 190; in Wooll's time, 217; origin of 'Rugby' game, 218; in Arnold's time, 262; rules codified, 288; standing on goal bar, 288; off-side, 288; in verse, 292; navvies, 292; teams of fifteen first played, 321; first foreign match, 321; fifteen fixed as number of team, 322; 'distinction,' 323; Union, 326
- Foreign match, first football**, 321
- Forms, School divided into**, 137
- Foundationers**, 24, 125, 131
- Fox, H. W.**, 243
- Francis, C. K.**, 328
- 'Freedom of the Fifth,'** 339
- Freemasons' Tavern, Old Rugbeians meet at**, 207
- French masters**, 134
- GALLERY in church allotted to the School**, 116
- Gallery, Oxford**, 142
- Games Committee**, 323
- Garden bought**, 96, 200
- Garden Close**, 198
- Gardner, J. C.**, 329
- Gascoigne's boarding-house**, 182
- Gawler, Col.**, 283
- Genealogical tables**, 363
- Gentleman usher**, 314
- 'George,' old Rugbeian dinner at**, 207
- Glyn, H. C.**, 243
- Glyn, R. R.**, 282
- Godley, Sir A.**, 308
- Goschen, G. J.**, 280
- Goulburn, Edward Meyrick**, twenty-fourth Master, sixth Head-master, 283, 293
- Goulburn's field**, 285
- Governing Body first appointed**, 304
- Greek verses, first done at Rugby**, 138; Dr. James's prize, 176
- Green, Prof. T. H.**, 285
- Greene, Wilgent, fifth Master**, appointed, 58, 59; perhaps by people of Rugby, 61; makes private agreement with Rose Wood, 58; sends boys to the Universities, 59; a successful Master, 60; death, 61
- Greenhill, third Master, also called Hill**, 13 *note*; associated with Edward Boughton, 36; appointed by Field, 38; probation of three years, 39; salary, 39; distinguished from a namesake, 41; his will, 42; educates John Howkins, 42; well to do, 43; builds additions to school-house, 43; repairs premises, 43; adds wainscot, &c., 43; his wife, 43; suit in Chancery, 44; confirmed

- in his post by Chancery, 49 ; death and will, 44
Grocers' Records, extracts from, 361
 'Guttle,' 216
 Gymnasium, 305
- HACKING**, 265 ; abolished, 324
Hakewill, architect of third School, 196 ; builds chapel, 206 ; library, 207
Half-holidays, 136
Halford, Richard, educated by Greene, and sent to Cambridge, 59
Hall, 259
Hall, W. H., 210
Halliday, F. J., 209
Hall-licking, 257
Hanmer, H., plucky deed of, 187
Harrison, George, a Trustee, 20 ; birth and residence, 21 ; property, 21 ; family, 21 ; influence in the Trust, 28 ; death, 41 ; identity, 28, *note*.
Harrison, Knightley, birth and parentage, 59, 85 ; educated at Rugby School, 59 ; enters at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, 59 ; appointed tenth master, 84 ; bond of resignation, 84 ; resigns, 85
Hart, H. G., 311
Hatherton, Lord, 209
Hay, Sir J. C. D., 243
Hayman, Henry, twenty-sixth Master, eighth Head Master, 304 ; resigns, 305
Head Master, first provided for in 1777, 123. *See* Master
Hills, R. S., 287
Hinton, C. H., 311
- Hiorn**, architect, surveys premises, 106
Hodgeson, S. H., 285
Hodgkinson, Joseph, 94 ; interrex, 101
Hodson, 242
Holbeche, E., 187
Holidays, 157
Holmes, E. C., 326
Holt, Charles, 91
Holyoake, Henry, appointed thirteenth Master, 88 ; parentage and career, 88, 89 ; holds sundry livings with the school, 89 ; increase of school under, 90 ; held in high respect, 91, 92 ; keeps a cousin at school, 93 ; numbers of boys under, 93 ; his cousin keeps house for him, 94 ; property and will, 95 ; *Speech Day*, 96 ; exercises on *Speech Day*, 97 ; epidemic in school, 98 ; bequeaths library to school, 99 ; disappearance of library, 100 ; death of Holyoake, 101
Holyoake, Judith, 94
Homes, Philip, 152
Horsman, E., 209
Hort, Professor, 240
House competitions, 191
House end, 68
House-fagging, 254
Houses, 180
House supper, 158
Howkins, Anthony, birth, 2, 14 ; takes lease of Brownsover from trustees, 26 ; perhaps mover in the petition against Seale, 38 ; will, 42 ; sues out first commission, 44 ; alienates glebe and tithes of Brownsover, 55 ; said to have enjoyed Brownsover without lease, 56

- Howkins, Elias**, enjoys Brownsover without taking a lease, 56; keeps a book of receipts, and pays the Master himself, 57; educated under Greene, 57 *note*
- Howkins, John (1)**, husband of Bridget, 17; death, 38. *See also* Bridget
- Howkins, John (2)** (son of Anthony), takes joint lease with Anthony of Brownsover property, 26; death, 26
- Howkins, John (3)** (son of Anthony), *armiger*, 9; educated at Rugby School, 42; barrister, 42; gets possession of Conduit Close property, 70; sub-lets it, 70; heart of the opposition to charity, 71; applies for third commission, 71; one of his family accused of burning documents, 71; death and will, 73
- Howkins, John (4)**, barrister, 26
- Howkins, widow**, keeps back part of Master's salary, 66
- Howkins, William** (son of Elias), enjoys Brownsover without taking a lease, 56, 70; marriage, 70; Brownsover property taken from him, 71; arrears to be paid, 71; put in prison and released, 82
- Hudson, Sir J.**, 209
- Hughes, T.**, 233, 240
- Humphrey, A. P.**, 330
- INFELIX**, 283
- Influence of Rugby on education**, 300, 349
- Ingles, Henry**, twentieth Master, second Head Master, 177; severity, 177; description, 178; abishes Christmas presents, introduces examiners, 178; rules for studies, 180; reduces the School House, 180; numbers under, 181; character, 181; death, 181
- Innes, George**, 152
- Inquisition of 1602**, Appendix, p. 366; possible error in, 28; its proceedings, 48; finding and decree, 48
- Intent of Lawrence Sheriffe**, 359
- Interregnum**, 68, 74, 83, 101
- Irby, E.**, 187
- Isham, George**, passes from Rugby to Cambridge, 53
- Island**, 184, 198, 254, 339, 340
- Island faggings**, 255
- JAMES, G.**, 187
- James, Herbert Armitage**, twentieth Master, eleventh Head Master, 308
- James, J.**, 172
- James, Thomas**, nineteenth Master and first Head Master, 129; qualifications, 129, 130; appointments and pays ushers, 130; salary, 131; profits, 154; generosity, 134; regulations for daily life and work, 136, 137; fond of mathematics, 139; discipline, 146, 147; did not spare the rod, 148; his jests, 167; retires, 173; epitaph, 175
- Jayne, F. J.**, 311
- Jeacocks, Leonard**, appointed twelfth Master, 87; school falls off under, 88; death, 88
- Jex-Blake, T. W.**, 282; twentieth Master, ninth Head

- Master, 305 ; gift of swimming bath, 305, 306 ; changes under, 305
- KELLY, H. F., 288
- Kempson, W. J., 283
- Kenney, E. M., 328
- Kincardine, Earl of, 104
- Kitchener, F. E., 286, 300
- Knail, William, appointed sixteenth Master, 105 ; description by old pupil, 112 ; resignation, 114
- 'Knuckling down,' 344
- LABORATORY built, 298
- Lamb-singing, 343
- Landon, W. S., 138, 152 ; his scholarship and ready wit, 165-166 ; grievance and removal, 167 ; athletic feats, 168
- Laurentian*, the, 316
- Law, A. P., 283
- Lea, W., 270
- Leaflet*, the, 316
- Leaping, 255
- Lee-Warner, W., 308
- Legge, E., 173
- Leigh, family of, connected with the School, 49
- Leigh, Thomas, Lord, petition of Pearce to, 65 ; appoints Whitehead, 75 ; 'last surviving feoffee,' 75
- Leighton, F. K., 209
- Leslie, C. H. F., 328
- Lessons, five, in the day's work, instituted by Thomas James, 136, 138, 139
- L'Estrange, trick played on, 164
- Levéé, Sixth Form, 246
- Levéés, School, Big Side, Sixth, House, 292, 338
- Lewis Carroll, 280
- Librarian first appointed, 195
- Library Bill, 390
- Library left by Holyoake, 99 ; room set apart for, 102 ; weeded and added to, 104 ; under James, 144 ; librarian, 195 ; built, 233 ; Arnold Library, 277 ; Temple Library, 306
- Lillywhite, John, first cricket professional, 327
- Lincoln's Inn Records, 362
- Locking up, 137
- Locock, Sir C., 209
- Lushington, S., 172
- Lye, Henry, 130
- Lyttelton, W. H., 165
- MACKIE, Jem, 263
- Macready, W. C., 188, 210-212
- Maling's boarding-house, 180
- Mansel, John, 113
- Mansel, R., 173
- Mansfield, W., 310
- Mansion-house. *See* Schoolhouse
- Marlborough match, 327
- Mason, Richard, goes from the School to St. John's Coll., Cambridge, 66
- Master of School, original qualifications and emoluments, 24 ; first appointed, 28 ; second and succeeding Masters, 35, 51 ; salary of Greenhill, 39, 49 ; of Rolfe, 52 ; Master chosen by Rugby householders, 61 ; receives rents of property, 79 ; entertains Trustees at quarterly meetings, 79 ; salary of Allen, 82 ; gives a bond for resignation if required, 84 ; salary of Harrison, 85 ; income

- of Jeacocks, 88; of Holyoake, 95; of James, 131; present day, 302
- Mathematics, 139
- Maul in goal, 246
- Mayor, Prof., 241
- Merit money, 141
- Meteor*, 316
- Middle week, 293
- 'Minister,' the, in Debating Society, 315
- Missions, School, 307, 332
- Mitford, Lieut.-Col., 287
- Moor, Christopher, 130
- Moor's boarding-house, 180
- More, A. G., 281
- Museum, 277, 306, 318
- Music, 318
- NAPIER, Prof., 311
- Natural History Museum and Library, 320
- Natural History Society, 320
- 'Navvies,' 274
- New Big School, 306
- New Close, 285
- New Quadrangle, 299
- New Rugby Magazine*, 316
- Nile, battle of, Rugbeian present at, 173
- Nimrod, 142, 164, 168, 170, 185.
See Apperley, C.
- No-caps, 253, 264, 299
- Notes for tradesmen, established by James, 141
- Numbers at School under Holyoake, 90, 120; Knail, 112; Burrough, 119
- Nursery, sick, 135
- OAKELEY, Sir H., 281
- Oakeley, R. B., 280
- Open scholarships instituted, 298
- Ordeals, 216
- Organ, 134, 206
- Organist, F. Marshall, 206
- Osborne, Lord S. G., 209
- Over-School, 111, 189
- PALMER, Roundell, 209
- Paradise, 111, 189
- Parkhurst, John, 104, 172
- Parry, Long, 191
- Particulars for Grants, 364
- Paul, William, 91
- Pearce, Raphael, seventh Master, 65; vicar of Itchington, 64; character, petition to Trustees, 65; poverty, 66, 67; sends a pupil to Cambridge, 66; ceased to teach before his death, 68; accused of breaking up beams and benches for firewood, 68; death, 67, 68, 74; interregnum, 74
- Pendred, 250
- Pension scheme for masters 195
- Percival, John, assistant to Dr. Temple, 300; twenty-eighth Master, tenth Head-master, 306
- Perkins, Henry, 86
- Petition of Anthony Howkins, 373
- Petition of N. Greenhill, 365
- Petition of Joan Pearce, 391
- Petition of 1581, 374
- Petition of inhabitants of Rugby in favour of Edward Clerke as Master, 61
- Pettiver, James, 86
- Pettiver, William, Latin verses by, 97
- Phayre, Sir R., 310

- Phillipps, Sir T., 209
 Phillpotts, J. S., 300
 Pig and Whistle, 248
 Pinckney, W. J., 329
 Pinley, John, usher under Holy-oake, 93
 'Play' (half-holiday) for copies, 136, 159, 178
 Playground first mentioned, 110
 Playhouse in Rugby about 1720, 97
 Plomer, John, educated at the School, 101; usher under Holy-oake, 93, 102; fourteenth Master, 101; takes living of Bilton, 101; sets apart room for library, 102; not successful as Master, 102; resigns, 103
 Plus, Billy, 184
 Pocket-money, 141
 Pond Close, 198
 Pontines, 285
 Poole, R. B., 286
 Port, J., 170
 Posers or examiners first employed, 178
 Potts, A. W., 300
 Powell's house, 164
 Powell, York, 311
 Praepostors, privileges and duties, 146; called over in church, 146; bullying tastes, 189, 257, 301
 Preparation, 137
 Preparatory school, 180
 Pretty, E., drawing-master, makes sketches of Old School, 109
 Price, Bonamy, 275
 Prizes first established, 194
 Proby, G. L., 173
 Punishment paper, 141

 QUEEN Dowager visits the School, 238

 RATTRAY, D., 210
 Rebellion, Great, 182
 Rebellions under James, 150; under Ingles, 182; later, 294, 295
 Rebuilding of School under consideration, 105, 133, 182
 Register, School, begun, 85
 Reve, Thomas, 11, 12
 Rhoades, H. T., 304
 Richmond, Joseph, seventeenth Master, 115; makes no entries in Register, 115; resignation, 115
 Roasting, 169
 Robertson, J., 300
 Robinson, D., 188
 Rolfe, Augustine, fourth Master, 51; perhaps elected by people of Rugby, 61; gets a writ *de executione* against Dakyn, 52; sends boys to Cambridge, 53; death, 58
 Rolston, Edward, first Master, 34
 Rugby and English education, 300, 349
 Rugby in the sixteenth century, 28, 30; in seventeenth, 29
Rugby Magazine, 247
Rugby Miscellany, 290
 Rugby Trust, how originally instituted, 20; income in 1780, 121.
 See Trustees
 Rugby Union Rules drawn up by old Rugbeians, 326
 Run, Prize Poem, 213
 Running Eight, 336
 Runs, 159, 255, 270
 Rutter, E., 287

 SALARY. *See* Master
 Sally Harrowell, 278, 298

- Sanatorium, 135, 278
 Sandford, E. G., 287; a 'jolly good fellow,' 305
 Saumarez, P., 200
 Scheme of work under James, 137
 Scholarships and exhibitions, 302
 School end, 68
 School, Founder's desire to build, 16; his directions concerning, 24; time and cost of building, 27; description of original building, 32; in ruin, 68; orders drawn up by Trustees and placed there, 80; repairs of, 85, 87, 96, 105; storey built over, 86, 94; thatched or tiled, 87; pulled down, 111; second School built, copied from the old, 110; removal to, 111; at Speeches, 99, 131, 142; scheme for rebuilding, 182; carried out, 195; description, 201
 Schools, additional, 119, 131
 School House built by the Founder, 14; carried rights of two cottage commons, 15; extent of grounds, 19; plan of grounds, 107; description of original building, 32; almsmen lodge therein, 32, 34; additions built by Greenhill, 43; burnt down, 43; in ruin, 68; repairs of, 85, 87, 96, 105; survey of premises by Hiorn, 106; report, 106; purchase of house on Market-place proposed, 106; new house bought, 108; removed to new house, 112; old house pulled down, 112; scheme for rebuilding again, 182; carried out, 195; description, 200; new studies, 278
 School-life under James, 158; in Arnold's time, 257; later, 291, 312
 School work, 345
 Sclater, Edward, educated by Greene, and goes to Cambridge, 59
 Seale, Richard, second Master, 35; ejected, 37
 Selous, F. C., 310, 320
 Sergeant at Arms (Debating Society), 290
 Sheriffe, Lawrence, birth and parentage, 1, 13; probably born at Rugby, 2; age, 2; education, 2; apprenticed to William Walcott, 3; grocer by appointment to Princess Elizabeth, 4, 5; defence of Elizabeth against her opponents, 4; at court, 6; on the livery of the Grocers' Company, 7; grant of arms, 9; house in Newgate St., 10; buys Conduit Close, 10; his wife, 10, 12; New Year's gifts to and from Queen Elizabeth, 10; speculates in land, 11; buys messuages in Rugby, and builds mansion-house, 14; sworn into Assistance of Grocers' Company, 15; second Warden, 15; his household, 15; illness, 15; makes will and intent, 15; last visit to Rugby, 16; adds codicil to will, 16; death and burial, 17, 18
 Sherrard, W. C., 326
 Shirking, 170, 340; abolished, 293
 Shirley, H., 210
Sibyl, the, 316
 Sick Nursery, 163. *See* Sanatorium
 Sick rooms in each boarding-house, 278

- Sidgwick, A., 285
 Sidgwick, Prof. H., 286
 Singing in Hall, 252
 Singlestick, 152
 Singleton, John, called the ejected
 Head Master of Rugby, 82, 83
 Sixth Form, character, duties,
 privileges, 337
 Sixth match, 266
 Skipwith, Thomas, 104
 Sleath, John, 117, 152
 Sleath, William, 117, 130, 151
 Smoking-out, 260
 Somerville, Lord, 187
 Sorrel, H. A., 243
 Speech day under Holyoake, 96 ;
 held at the August meeting of
 Trustees, 96 ; compositions re-
 cited at, 97, 98, 99 ; floor strewn
 with rushes, 99 ; under Bur-
 rough, 119 ; under James, 142 ;
 big school decorated with oak
 boughs, 142 ; time changed to
 June, 144
 Spencer Cup, 330
 Sports, 159, 334
 Spread Eagle, old Rugbeians meet
 at, 207
 Stanley, A. P., 233, 240 ; monu-
 ment, 306
 Stanley's boarding-house, 180
 'Stodge,' 345
 Stokes, F., 326
 Story, Elizabeth, 95
 Street-lighting in Rugby, 248
 Studies, 131, 137, 185, 155 ; de-
 scription in James's time, 162 ;
 rent, 162 ; in dames' houses,
 163, 164 ; how heated, 163 ;
 Ingles tries to give each boy a
 separate one, 180 ; under Arnold,
 259
 Study-licking, 257
 'Swan' bought for the school,
 96
 Swifts, 248
 Swimming, 250
 Sykes, P. M., 310
 Sykes, W. H., 326
 TAIT, Archibald Campbell, twenty-
 third Master, fifth Head-master,
 275 ; home life, 277 ; resigns,
 277
 Tait's field, 285
 Tawney, C. H., 286
 Tea, a luxury, 163
 Temple, Frederic, twenty-fifth
 Master, seventh Head-master,
 297 ; Science, Open Scholar-
 ships, 298 ; abolishes standing
 in goal, 299 ; resigns, 300
 Temple, Sir R., 242
 Temple reading-room, 306
 Tercentenary, 299
 Thompson, Sir E. M., 286
 Thornton, S., 244
 Thos, 194
 Three trees, 198
 Throttling at football, 264
 'Tolly,' 343
 Tompkinson, E., 170
 'Tosh,' 305, 306
 Trafalgar, Rugbeian present at,
 173
 Tree moved, 298
 Treen, 'Mother' or 'Queen,'
 214
 Trevor, R., 210
 Trustees, how originally consti-
 tuted, 20 ; duties, 28 ; in early
 years little fault to be found,
 26 ; appoint first almsmen, 27 ;
 place them in the Schoolhouse,
 27 ; build a school, 27 ; appoint

- first Master, 28; first Board of Twelve appointed in 1602, 48; second Board, 52; laxity of, 52, 56, 57, 61, 62, 79; appointed by Chancery in 1632, 61; in 1653, 71; property vested in them, regulations for meetings, 71, 72; attend Speeches, 96; die off down to one survivor, 78; dissensions among, 78; turn over a new leaf, 79; appoint clerk and begin account, and order books, 79; make orders for School, 80; take a bond from Master for resignation if required, 84; neglect their meetings for some years, 103; save money for improvements, 106; present duties, 301
- Trustees' Books*, Rugby, extracts from, 376
- Turf-cart fagging, 256
- Turner, D. P., 324
- T. V. W., the, 316
- Tyrwhitt-Drake, 310
- UNIVERSITY drag, 248
- Upper Boys' Room, 163
- Ushers, 74, 93, 101, 102, 115; first appointed by Trustees, 130; salary of, 130; additional, 133; under James, 151, 153; salary, 153, increased, 179; pension scheme for, 195
- VAUGHAN, C. J., 240, 275
- Vaughan, H. H., 209
- Vaughan, Sir Henry, 117
- Vaughan, Peter, 153
- Veteran's trophy, 330
- Vickers, E. R. F., 283
- Victoria Cross, 282, 287
- Vincent, John, buys share of Conduit Close, 48; death, 48
- Vincent, Rose. *See* Wood, Rose
- Vivarium, 320
- Volunteer Corps, 186, 329; organisation, 331; rifle range, 331
- WACE, Prof., 286
- Waddington, W. H., 242
- Wake, D., the hero of Arrah, 282
- Walhouse, E. J., 209
- Walker, F. W., 281
- Walker, Sir George, 117
- Walker, J., 244
- Warburton, W. P., 289, 291
- Waterloo, Rugbeians at, 168, 187
- Watney, H., 329
- Webb, Bishop, 286
- Wheler, Edward, Speech Day composition of, 97
- Wheler, F., 210
- Whitehead, Peter, eighth Master, 75; whether a Master of Arts, 75; a Proctor of Civil Law, 75; a painful schoolmaster, 77; why appointed, 76; resigns, 77
- Will of Anthony Howkins, 390
- Will of John Howkins, 391
- Will of Lawrence Sheriffe, 353
- Wills, T. W., 328
- Wilmot, Sir H. S., 282
- Wilmot, Sir John, draws up scheme for new Constitution, 121
- Wilson, J. M., 300
- 'Winchester Knots,' 216
- Winter, J. P., 282
- Wise, H., 170
- Wolff, Sir H. D., 281
- Wood, Rose, formerly wife of John Vincent, 48; marries Roger Wood, 48; refuses to pay her

- | | |
|---|--|
| rent, 51; condemned to pay
costs and arrears, 52; tenant
under Henry Clerke, 56; pays
her arrears, 57; private agree-
ment with Greene, 58; death, 70
Wooll, John, twenty-first Master,
third Head-master, 192; cha-
racter, 192, 193, 212, 215; num-
bers in school, 194; establishes
prizes, 194; resigns, 207; Uni- | versity honours of his pupils,
208
Work under James, 139
Wratislaw's boarding-house, 180
Writing-master, 130
Wynch, C. G., 283

YARDLEY, W., 328
Yates, H. T. S., 326
<i>Φωροβαλλομαχία</i> , 265 |
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